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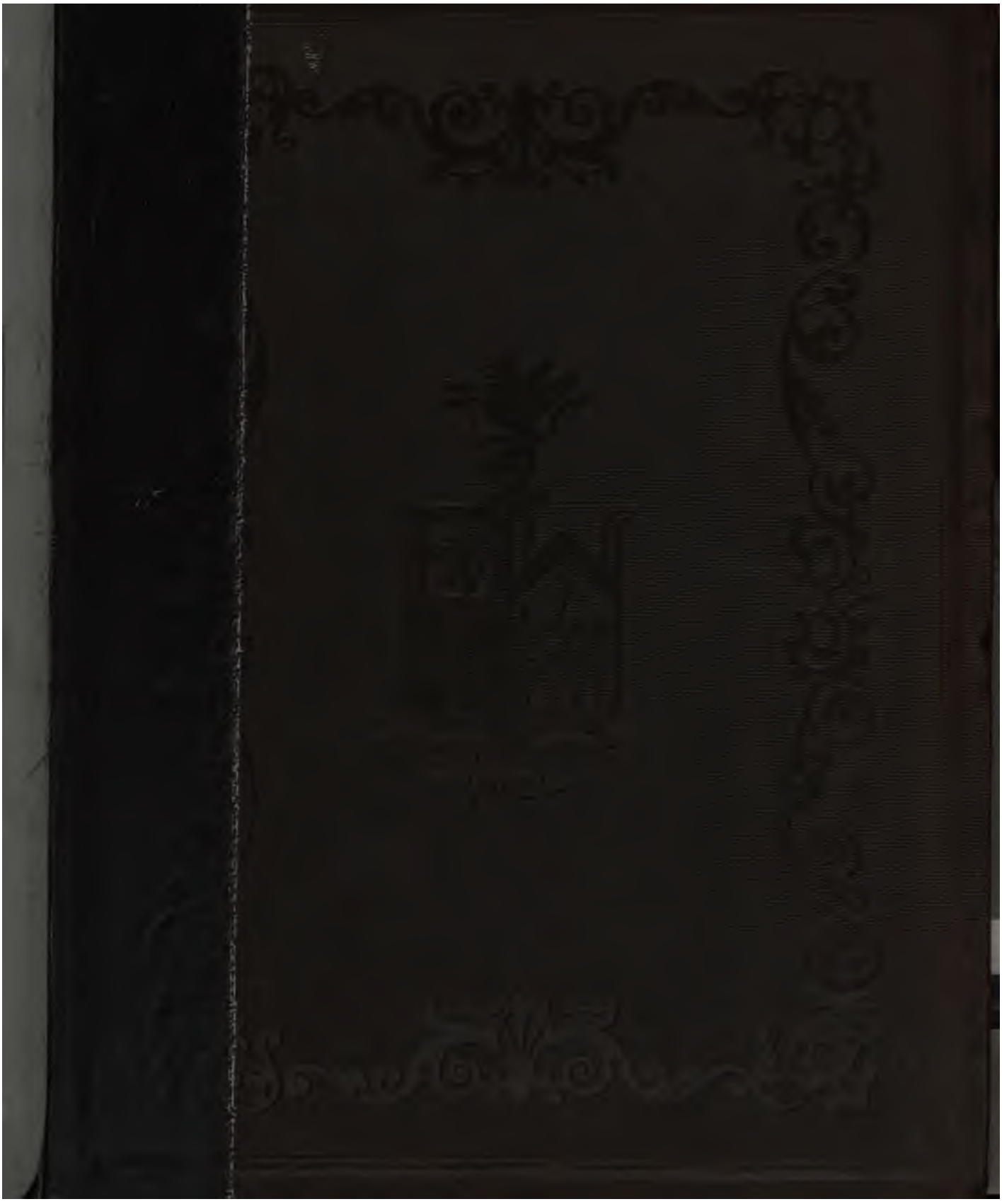

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William Allen

CARDINAL ALLEN'S DEFENCE

OF

SIR WILLIAM STANLEY'S

SURRENDER OF DEVENTER

JANUARY 29, 1586-7.

EDITED BY

THOMAS HEYWOOD, Esq., F.S.A.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE are three editions of Cardinal Allen's tract in defence of the surrender of Deventer, 1586-7. The first in English, printed hastily at Antwerp 1587, and intended for Stanley's renegade soldiers, and to win deserters from the English camp. Of this book, which is now again offered to the public, the British Museum obtained a copy in Mr. Grenville's library, but it is imperfect, Roger Ashton's preliminary letter being wanting. By the kindness of Mr. WRIGHT, we have procured the missing document from the National Library at Paris. This is however from the second, or French edition, printed at Paris 1588, apparently designed to confirm the Guises, and to seduce the Huguenots. Dodd gives the title of a third edition, in Latin, printed at Cracow, (at the Jesuits' press there?) 8vo. 1588.

We also print from MSS. in the British Museum, the depositions of Sir William Stanley's servant John Flud, and the account of the Knight's funeral. We have to acknowledge the assistance which Mr. ORMEROD has given us in supplying Lady Stanley's epitaph from the Cathedral at Malines, and in allowing us the benefit of his opinion on

points of difficulty. The kindness of Mr. HUNTER, in pointing out the sources, which have enabled us to conclude the life of Stanley, and to be aware of the existence of Gage's MS., has been of essential service. To Mr. Canon RAINES, and Mr. LANGTON, we have very profitably had recourse in the matter of Lancashire pedigrees, a subject of no common difficulty, where the scanty visitations are so completely set aside by those books of descents which Townleys, Shakerleys, Percivals, and other families compiled and preserved, and without which MSS. we should fail to identify individuals even of the most distinguished houses. On the extensive knowledge of books, and great intelligence, of Mr. JONES, the librarian of the Chetham College, we have been permitted also largely to trespass.

Rowland, the second son of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton in Cheshire, by Grace, daughter of Sir William Griffiths of Penrhyn, was born 1517, and succeeding his elder brother in the estate 1536, became the head of the various families of Stanley. He married, firstly, Margaret, daughter of Hugh Aldersey of Chester, by whom he had William, who surrendered Deventer, and John, of the Society of Jesus. (1) The birth of the eldest son was probably

(1) Sir Rowland married, secondly, Ursula, daughter of Sir Thomas Smith of Hough, in the Nantwich hundred, the granddaughter of an Alderman of Chester. (Ormerod's *Cheshire Baronetage*, 1741.) Two daughters were

about 1534. (1) He married Elizabeth, daughter of John

the issue of the second marriage, Margaret, married to Sir John Egerton of Egerton, and Mary, wife of John Poole of Capenhurst, who died in vit. pat. Rowland was knighted on the morrow of Mary's coronation 1553. (Machin's *Diary*, p. 34.) In 1557 his name occurs as captain of one hundred men, in the Cheshire levy for the intended Scottish war, (Lodge's *Illustrations*, i. 281,) and in 1560 he served in Scotland under Lord Grey. (Stowe. *Illustrations of Queen Mary's Reign*, Maitland Club, p. 82.) At the funeral of Edward Earl of Derby 1572, Sir Rowland assisted the Chief Mourner. (Collins' *Peerage*, ii. 265.) In 1573 this Knight "together with his friends, laboured to obtain to be High Sheriff of Cheshire; a person he was doubted to be corrupt in religion;" and it was said that he sought the Shrievalty, in order to resist the processes issued against him in a suit with his wife, and also to summon a jury in another cause which he had depending, respecting the living of Bebington. When Sir Rowland met Lord Huntingdon, whose court he had set at defiance, "he would not vouchsafe to salute him, burthened belike," as his enemy Fletcher charitably suggests, "with a guilt of conscience." (Strype's *Grindal*, p. 183.) Whether Huntingdon afterwards subjected Sir Rowland to the same surveillance which he exercised over Lords Derby and Sussex, does not appear. (Haynes, pp. 569, 603.) To his other numerous pursuits, Baines, (*Liverpool*, p. 223,) assigns to the owner of Hooton, that of being a rover on the sea; he states that Sir Thomas Stanley of Hooton had, temp. Eliz. a privateer in the Mersey. The name would appropriate the vessel to Lord Derby's second son, and connect it with the means calculated on for Mary's escape. (Murdin, p. 99.) In 1576 Sir Rowland was Sheriff of Cheshire, and in 1588 he subscribed £100 towards opposing the armada. "This," Ormerod says, "he apparently intended as an open disavowal of his son's proceedings;" whilst, to save the family estate, he conveyed it to his grandson, who died, the owner of Hooton, 4th January 1612, Sir Rowland dying 5th April 1613, aged 96. We suppose any estate which might come to Sir William, was confiscated under 29 Eliz. c. 1., where we take the initials W. S., as they are printed in the Statute Book, to stand for his name.

(1) Wadsworth, in "the *English Spanish Pilgrim*," says that Sir William

Egerton; and her brother, Sir John, was husband to Sir William Stanley's half sister. The family of Sir William were, William, Rowland, Joanna the wife of John Fitzmaurice of Ireland, a suspicious connexion as regarded loyalty to Elizabeth, Mary, and Elizabeth married to Thomas Glasier of Lea in Wirrall. The first service of William was under Alva, in that splendid army, (1) whose advance from Italy to Holland created such a sensation

Stanley complained he had "outlived his friends, and in the year 1624 he was constrained to go to Spain, in his old age, having *now* seen ninety-five years." This is not very precise as to the year when he had seen this extreme age, and, unluckily, the account of the funeral wants the date of the year. In Tong's *Visitation*, 1532-3, Rowland Stanley has entered himself as unmarried, and we therefore place Stanley's birth in 1534, and take the "now" of Wadsworth to mean 1629, the date of his book.

(1) *Le Clerc.* i. 129. It is certain Stanley had served under Philip. "Cui non satis etiam fidendum premonent Ordines, quandoquidem hosti antea stipendarius militasset," (Meteeren, lib. 13;) and again (lib. 14) "Stanleius enim antea Hispano Regi militaverat." Strada, who being a Jesuit, had a peculiar knowledge of Stanley's doings, asserts that Leicester trusted him, "quamvis catholicum esse, ac Hispano Regi militasset, non ignoraret." (2. lib. 8.) In the article Alan, (*Biog. Brit.*) Stanley is said to have deserted from the Spaniards, but the accusation is no where repeated, and it is improbable. After the seizure of the treasure ships, 6th December 1568, and the support of the Dutch by Elizabeth, and of the rising of the North by Philip, besides other mutual incivilities, an Englishman, in the Spanish army, seems out of place. But Camden states, such service was accepted, (*Annal.* lib. 2,) and Roger Williams took it, (Somer's *Tracts*, i. 354;) whilst La Mothe Fénélon, who watched the proceedings of the really belligerent parties, says, with amazement, "il n'y a heu epée degaynée n'y un seul coup de haquebute tirée," (ii. 77, also v. 35, 64, 78.) Thus was Holland saved, and Elizabeth, in her entire defeat of Philip, made him abandon Allen's seminary at Douay.

throughout Europe in 1567. (1) Stanley quitted the Low Countries about 1570, and joined the Queen's forces in Ireland, where, as he stated to Philip, he served fifteen years, and he left that island 1585. (2) It is 1579 before Stanley's name occurs in history, being then one of Sir William Drury's captains, and assisting in an inroad into Limerick, he was, for his conduct, knighted by Drury, at Waterford. (3) Stanley took part in the battle of Monaster Neva, and distinguished himself in the defence of Adare. (4) At this time Barnaby Rich, who poured such a profuse lachrymatory over Drury, was in Munster, also Captain Walter Raleigh, "exposing himself to the land service of Ireland, a militia which did not yield him food, or raiment, nor had he patience to stay there." (5) In this force Stanley too had his command, but he did not experience those intervals of court favour which refreshed Raleigh.

Sir William received a commission, 30th August 1581, from Lord Grey to follow the Cavenaghs, (6) and in October we find Grey complaining of the want of a commander in Munster, and "of some emulation amongst the captains,

(1) Brantome, Capitaines Etrangers, Grand Duc d'Albe. Schiller's *Alba's Rustung und Zug.*

(2) Quindecim annis se apud Hibernos arma gestasse. (Strada, ii. lib. 9, p. 533.)

(3) Drury, one of the heroes of the Elizabethan age, died at Waterford, (soon after he had knighted Stanley,) in September 1579. There is a correct account of him in Lodge's *Illustrations*, (ii. 31,) which is the more valuable, as he is usually confounded with a cotemporary and namesake.

(4) Cox, i. 358; Geoghegan, iii. 431; Thuanus, lib. 68, s. 32.

(5) Naunton; Lloyd. (6) Murdin, p. 358.

causing great slackness in the service." We may conjecture that Stanley did not see, unmoved, Raleigh, Pelham, Norris, and others, pass him by; and, Roman Catholic as he was, he might feel his exclusion from sharing in the partition of the Desmond estate, which he had contributed to gain; and though, ultimately, the apportionments were unprofitable to the undertakers, yet that knowledge came with the experience of after years. Cox informs us, that "it was a great affront to the Deputy (Perrot) that the forfeited estates in Munster were distributed without his interposing therein, or being so much as named in the commission, nevertheless his enemies prevailed yet further, to get Sir William Stanley, and one thousand men, to be sent from Ireland into Holland, where Stanley turned Papist and Traitor." (1) Ormond brought 1582-3, four hundred men, who were distributed amongst four captains, Stanley being one. In 1584 he was Sheriff of Cork, and in 1585 left Ireland. Though the war, as Burleigh admitted, (2) was a religious one, Stanley served with fidelity. "Qui singulari fide, et fortitudine, in Hibernico bello meruerat," (3) is Camden's testimony.

It is difficult to fix the precise time when Stanley first contemplated being disloyal. That he long cherished the

(1) Cox, i. 392. Burleigh writes, 20th June 1586, that gentlemen from Cheshire, and Lancashire, were going to Munster. (*Leycester Correspondence*, p. 315.) Stowe mentions Sir Richard Molyneux as sending settlers, and three Fittons had grants, Tyrone's irruption concluded the scheme, Spencer fled from Kilcolman, and the province was ravaged.

(2) Murdin, p. 323. (3) Camd. *Annal.* p. 471.

intention, he afterwards avowed; (1) and we therefore point out the occasions when his conduct was liable to suspicion. On Perrot's trial, an indifferent authority, a tampering with Stanley's loyalty is alledged to have taken place about May 1585. "Letters were sent from the Duke of Parma to Sir John Perrott, by one Browne, and an answer from the said Sir John. It was likewise proved he sent letters to Sir William Stanley."

The English auxiliaries arrived in the Dutch provinces December 1585, and with them came Stanley. Perrot, 31st January, 1585, complains that Norris and Stanley, "who are men of good account," are withdrawn from Ireland. (2) For some weeks this last remained with Leicester, and on January 24th we find the Knight at the inauguration feast at the Hague, seated next the youthful Lord Essex; (3) and on February 2nd Sir Philip Sidney writes to his uncle, from Bergen op Zoom, "Therefore, if it please your Excellency, to let old Tutty, and Reade, with Sir William Stanley, and Sir William Russell, with two hundred horse, come hither, I doubt not to send you honourable, and comfortable, news." (4)

Leicester, experiencing the usual parsimony of Elizabeth, who supplied him with little money, and absolutely refused to send English soldiers, was doubtless influenced by

(1) Utq: id faceret, urgente conscientiâ longo ante temporum permotum se asserit. (Meteeren, lib. 14.) Id jampridem conscientiâ urgente apud animum suum constituisse. (Thuan. lib. 88, s. 6.)

(2) *Scrinia Sacra*, p. 18. (3) Stowe, p. 1193.

(4) *Hardwick Papers*, i. 331.

Stanley, to request from the Government six hundred, or a thousand, "of your Irish idell men, such as be not only in Her Majesty's pay, but very mete to be out of that country." (1) The assistance of Perrot is further requested on behalf of the person sent to bring the levies. Elizabeth, after some hesitation, allowed the men to be taken from the discharged Royal bands. (2) In March 1585, Shirley suggests the name of a person, who would raise and command this force, (3) and Walsingham recommends Dautrey, to go to Ireland, levy, and bring the men, and to have the rank of Stanley's Lieutenant Colonel; (4) but Leicester replies, 5th April 1586, that Stanley is already set out for Ireland, and that the matter is left to his discretion. The estimated cost of these recruits, produced in Holland, varied from fifty shillings to twenty shillings per man; and this might justify a suspicion that Stanley, like Falstaff, "misused the Queen's press damnably," and "got, in exchange of a hundred and fifty souldiers, three hundred odd pounds." The States paid for these men, who did them so much wrong. (5) Leicester eagerly expected their arrival, with "our English Master, Sir William Stanley, which, above all other, I desire." (6)

The intrigues of the agents of Mary, and of the Roman Catholic refugees, had free course amongst the followers of Leicester, on their arrival in the Dutch provinces. Morgan, from the prison in Paris, to which the Jesuits had dexterously consigned him, on the old pretext of being a

(1) *Leycester Correspondence*, Camden Society, p. 26.
(2) *Ibid* p. 179. (3) *Ibid.* p. 183. 4 *Ibid.* p. 185.
(5) *Ibid.* pp. 186, 230, 250, 257. (6) *Ibid.* p. 292.

Mouchard, thus addressed(1) the Queen of Scots, 18th January 1855-6: "Leycester is entered with all magnificence into Holland and Zealand, and with him many honest personages, which will never return with him, or serve him there. If I were at libertye, I should draw some of them to do good service, but in this case, I dare not deal with them, albeit, some of them have written to me, and thereby encouraged me to deale with them." Of Christopher Blount, Allen's pupil, and Essex's Mephistopheles, then with Leicester, Morgan writes: "He has some charge, and credit, where he is, and his meaning is for the service of God, and advancement of the King of Spain, to further the delivery of some notable townes in Holland, or Zealand, to the King of Spain." Leicester soon fell into the plots of these men; he writes, February 24th: "I have changed many garrisons, upon some small suspicion."

Although the evidence on Perrot's trial, as it impeached that Deputy's loyalty,(2) was lightly regarded by Burleigh,

(1) Murdin, pp. 478, 490; and *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 135.

(2) *State Trials*, vol. i. Amongst the principal witnesses against Perrot, Camden mentions a married priest, Dennis O Roghan, who had forged the Lord Deputy's handwriting, and been forgiven, on condition that he served him as a spy. This person's evidence, in twenty-two articles, is still extant in MS. at Caius College, Cambridge, and makes an important addition to the confused, and brief, account of the process against Perrot, in the State trials. The deposition is introduced, as "a Briefe note in how manie points every article consisteth that Sir Denis Roghan, priest, hath set downe." "The firste is, how he came out of Spaine, as a messenger from my Lord Baltinglass." Then Sir John is made to enquire of O Roghan, which of the two religions is best? And Perrot further says to Stanley: "I thinke it fytt, and necessarie, to presse v c menne," (the number, with the 900 Royal bands

and Camden, and was scornfully contradicted by the accused, and although the imputations on Stanley rest upon the same testimony, yet we must accept the allusion to his meditated treason, at this period, as furnishing an index to enquiry. The indictment charged, "that on the 20th of June, in the twenty-eighth year of the Queen, he, Perrot, sent for Sir William Stanley to confer with him, touching his traitorous purposes, and on the 30th of June, he talked with the said Sir William to that effect." The witnesses in support of this case are, "one White," and "others of Rosse." It was further declared, that Sir John, (Perrot,) "having conference with Sir William Stanley, in Ireland, Sir John wished him to revolt, assuring him, that the Irishmen, would live, and die, with him. Sir William Stanley, going from Ireland, to have one thousand six hundred men for the Low Countries, Feugh Feukleugh, being a known traitor, brought him certain men, and bade his men do, as Sir William would have them to do, whether it was right,

enlisted in Ulster, making up the 1400, which arrived in Holland,) "or as manie as I can, to send them with you. I will report to the counseille, and certifie them to be good souldiers, menne of great courage, (but Sir William they be onlie menne that will fight, and die, for the Romaine Religion's sake,) and although the matter be slacked between the King, and me, yet procede you to revolte from the Quene's service, and when you are become of the King's side, you shall finde the Irish menne to be good guiders, when you come into Ireland."

The extraordinary part of the matter is, that for this sort of evidence, Roghan, (according to Camden,) had forty pounds per annum settled upon him by the English Government. Cox, after reciting Roghan's knaveries, adds, "yet was this wicked priest one of the fatal witnesses against the Deputy, whereof he repented on his death bed." (Vol. i. p. 388.)

or wrong, and therefore they shook hands, and parted. To this, Sir John Perrott, said, If Stanley be a traitor, what is that to me?"

If, besides taking the Queen's discharged soldiers, Stanley levied the Kerns, lately assisting Baltinglass, and Feucht O Beirne, in their insurrection, it is possible he was thus early intending to be disloyal to Elizabeth. A cotemporary writer informs us,(1) that the "cashing" of the Royal bands, and Stanley's recruiting, were simultaneous, and that the withdrawal of the troops from Ulster, was "the putting off the bridle from the heads of these inconstant people," and that Perrot made an earnest remonstrance against such

(1) "*The Government of Ireland*, under the honourable, just, and wise Governour, Sir John Perrott, &c. London, 1626." It is dedicated to Bevile Grenvile Esq. by his cousin E. C. S., perhaps the initials of a St. Leger, near relations of the Grenvilles. Lowndes, Watts, and the Museum catalogue, are at fault as to the authorship of this tract. Of Stanley the writer says: that he served "valiantly, and faithfully, in Ireland, but going to the Low Countries, he met with sharper conceites than his own, and finding him ignorantly wavering between two religions, fastened him to the worse, and consequently made to the States a traytor, against whom he hath since done great mischief, proving one of the best captains under the Spaniards' command, besides these Irish that went with him, have proved a seminary of Traytors, to afflict that kingdom, of whom some yet live to threaten no less hereafter." Of Stanley's hesitation as to the religion he would adopt, this passage, and Cox's statement that he turned Papist in the Netherlands, form all the information we have met with. Stanley's name does not often occur in connexion with the Spanish army. He was with Berg in 1599 in the inroad into the Isle of Bommell, and he is said to have left Brussells with "Count Charles," we presume of Mansfeldt. The old Knight was *entêté* on the subject of invading England, and the Spaniards were as absurd as himself.

"preposterous counsels." But the number of discharged troops is stated at nine hundred, which is five hundred short of the muster of Stanley's soldiers in Holland. Camden says that Perrot's soldiers, who went to the Low Country wars, were trained by him, even firing musquets (bombardulos,) with an aim. (1) Other authorities, however, describe the arrival of men in the English army, who bear a strong resemblance to what we may suppose the Wicklow rebels to have been, and certainly had not, the "balle en bouche et mêche allumée," of drilled musqueteers. "There were many English, and Scotch, to which fourteen hundred Irish were added, commanded by the Lord Deputy of Ireland, (2) a rude, and savage, race, covered only in the middle of the body, and under the navel, the rest naked, raised on stilts, or long staves, in the use of which in crossing rivers, they greatly excelled, and threatening with bows and arrows." (3) Stowe, whilst he admits their courage, dwells on the skill in burning, killing, and thieving, of these Kerns.

In passing through England, on his return to Leicester, Stanley again becomes an object of suspicion. The Babington conspiracy was at this time approaching its denouement, and had so widely extended itself amongst the Roman Ca-

(1) Camd. *Annal.* lib. 3.

(2) Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice of Ireland 1579; he commanded Stanley's division, and was Lord Marshal, under Leicester. Pelham had long been under surveillance in England, (*Hardwick Papers*, i. 30,) and with difficulty obtained the Queen's leave to join Leicester in July. He was brought up at the Court of Charles the Fifth, married a Neville, and, Lloyd says, was tampered with by Desmond, in Ireland.

(3) Strada, ii. lib. 8.

tholics, that Stanley could hardly be in England, and not have knowledge of the plot. The statements of Camden and Meteeren, as to Sir William's complicity, are strong; (1) and yet, though Ballard was arrested August 4th, Stanley passed unquestioned into Holland. Burleigh writes to Leicester from Richmond, July 21st 1586: (2) "At the writing hereof, Sir William Stanley was come hither, and meaneth, with haste, to repaire to your Lordship, judging that his men are before this time at Flushing."

The Kerns joined August 12th, and a letter of Leicester's shows that they were already objects for Spanish corruption: "The enemy has 2 or 300 of our ablest men gone to him, (3)

(1) Camden represents York as endeavouring to draw over Stanley to the Spanish side: "Iteratis, et juratis, asseverationibus, eum conjurationis Babingtoniæ manifestum ex conjuratorum confessionibus teneri, et jamjam in Angliam ad patibulum abripiendum, in sceleris societatem pertraxerit," (Lib. 3.) Meteeren writes: "Dicebatur autem cum aliis, contra Angliæ Reginam, conspirasse, ut Scotiæ Reginam ad Angliæ diadema promoveret, cujus criminis ne tandem accusaretur, metuebat." (Lib. 14.)

(2) *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 360.

(3) The want of pay was severely felt in the English army, which was further demoralised by Leicester's own doings. He wished, like Anjou, to make a principality for himself out of the United Provinces, and, over estimating the advantage which his profession of protestantism gave him over the French Prince, he entirely laid out of the question the impracticable materials of which his Barataria was composed. Camden says, Leicester went to Holland "ex titillante imperii, et gloriæ, cupiditate." From his arrival he commenced intriguing for greater power. In February the Queen discovered what he was about, and her indignation was vehement, and sincere. (*Leycester Correspondence*, pp. 58, 59, 80, 100, 122, 162; *Tozen*, i. 361.) The States conceded all his demands, they postponed Prince Maurice to the imperious favorite, invented, it is said, the title of

and I think it not so much for misery, and want, though it be great, as by villainy, and by practice of some set course

"His Excellence" for Leicester's use, although he denied this to Elizabeth: they also styled him "Den Doorchluchtigen, Hooghgeboren, Vorst, und Heere." But when Elizabeth complained of the power granted to her general, the States at once avowed, "nec illa sane tanta sit, quanta verbum *absoluta*, præ se ferre videatur, cum ipse principatus, et dominatio suprema, et dominii dignitas, penes populum integra maneat." (Camden, lib. 4; *Hardwick Papers*, i. 321.) How often the same fact was impressed on William the Third, and Marlborough! The Queen evidently, and in a moment, apprehended the real state of matters, and naturally took Leicester's part. Froissart, and Comines, and the history of the turbulent Belgian towns, must have been familiar to her. Perhaps the reply of Edward the Fourth to Louis the Eleventh was also not unknown, "That the towns of Flanders were of no weak strength, nor of no little quantity, and very uneasy to be kept when they were conquered," and so Edward gave a preference to receiving the cities of Picardy. (Hall, p. 325.) Leicester finding that each town of the United Provinces was a republic, over which the States had no sort of power, removed, March 1586, with his three Dutch counsellors, to Utrecht, and commenced a war of words with the States at the Hague, occupying more of his time than the war with the Spaniards. Of the States, Stanley says: "Quos nebulones, presente ac tolerante Leicestrio, appellare solenne illi, et Yorckio, erat." (Reidanus, lib. 6.) In his letters, Leicester denominates the States "tinkers and churls," (*Correspondence*, p. 312,) "bakers and brewers," (*Ibid.* iv. 24.) Men who, under the designation of "Porkers," or "Beggars," had hung up at Courtray the spurs of eight hundred vanquished French Knights, who for eighty years contended successfully with Spain, who swept the Thames with their fleets, and crushed the Grand Monarque in the plenitude of his power, may afford to smile at Leicester's soubriquets. His peevish feeling towards the Dutch is well set forth by Grotius. (*Annal.* lib. 5, p. 99.) It is gratifying to perceive how truly this people always estimated their obligations to Elizabeth. (Temple's *Works*, i. 80.)

in England, by trusting Papists and Knaves for the nonce, to cause our men to do that, as I hear also, a plot is laid for the Irish. There is one sent to a frontier town near us, an Irishman born, a very lewd person, with a mind to corrupt others." (1)

Leicester, his reinforcements having arrived, determined to clear the river Yssel of Spaniards, Zutphen being their principal station. He was led thus to open the campaign because Parma was absent, at the Pope's request, subduing the Electorate of Cologne for Ernest of Bavaria, who had replaced the amatory and protestant Truchsess. (2) On September 2nd 1586, Stanley was appointed to assist Sir John Norris in storming Doesborg. The place, however, yielded on summons, and the women passing out were plundered and maltreated by the soldiers, whilst Essex and "other gentlemen interposed, and by smiting and beating the soldiers made them leave off rifling them." (3) How Stanley, commanding the Irish, carried himself in this affair, may be conjectured; henceforth, he avows, (4) he entertained a dislike to Leicester, "for his unkynd deling," and Essex's "yvill using of him was a grete mislyking to him;" and yet Leicester continued to regard Stanley as a devoted friend.

(1) *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 389.

(2) Von Raumur's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, n. f. 1 B. The visit of Truchsess's wife, the beautiful Agnes de Mansfeldt, to London, her lodging with Essex, and Elizabeth's indignation, deserve to be transferred from this account of the ex-Archbishop of Cologne, to our own histories.

(3) Stowe, p. 1231. (4) Flud's *Deposition*.

At the glorious battle of Warnsfeld, (September 22nd,) Stanley distinguished himself. "There was not," writes Leicester, "in the field of ours, of horse, in the whole two hundred, whereof these Lords, and Gentlemen, with their followers to the number of sixty at the most, did all the feate, with the help only of Sir William Stanley, who had but three hundred for their three thousand foot, and he did most valiantly himself, and his own horse received eight shott of the musquet, and yet himself not hurt. He, and old Reade, are worth their weight in pearl, they be two as rare captains as any living Prince hath."(1) Stowe inserts a story of the reconciliation of Stanley and Norris on this field, not unlike Cæsar's account of Pulfio and Varenus; but we fear the renewed friendship of the Englishmen was of brief duration. Stanley next assisted at the taking of Zutphen sconce. This was chiefly owing to the gallantry of his Lieutenant, Edward Stanley,(2) and caused no little surprise to the grateful Leicester, who had ordered the assault against the advice of his captains, and who knighted, and largely recompensed, Edward Stanley. Vere, a few

(1) *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 417.

(2) Camden says this Edward was "of the Elford Stanleys." This branch of the Stanleys, so far as Elford was concerned, existed no longer, having terminated in coheiresses; nor does Seacome assist us to identify this person, although he makes a Sir Edward Stanley to be slain in Ireland 1586, and who, he states, had received knighthood for his services in the Low Countries. We do not again find this Knight in connexion with Sir William Stanley, and so far Seacome's account is corroborated; but he states him to be of the Alderley Stanleys, and his pedigree of that branch does not confirm this.

years later, won the town, which is on the other side of the Yssel; in gaining the sconce, the English were now less fortunate; Parma relieved Zutphen, and retired; and this fort, now committed to York, served to restrain the Spanish foraging parties to one side of the river.

Leicester next went to Deventer, once a city of the Hanseatic league, and at this period the capital of Over Yssel, and, after Antwerp and Amsterdam, the most important town in the Netherlands.(1) It was "fair, strong, and large," and able to defend itself against enemies from without, victualled for "three years without any relief," but "a stubborn town." This means that the burghers would admit neither Leicester, nor the States, to govern them.(2) In February 1585-6, the Earl mentioned Deventer as "a place of marvellous importance,"(3) and alludes to a conspiracy to deliver the town to the enemy, and of De Meurs having changed the magistrates, "to the great lyking of all the towne, and the full assurance of the same;" and yet he admits "they held for the States always."

On the 22nd of September 1586, some English troops entered Deventer, and it was insinuated there would be a revolt, if Parma would approach, and countenance it. Still the town sided with Leicester, and when two or three hundred of his men had been admitted, the Earl himself arrived on the 15th, and stayed until the 18th, when he

(1) Strada, ii. lib. 8.

(2) Appendix, Sadler's *Papers*, ii. 503. In Raumur's *Taschenbuch*, 6 B. n. f. there is a good essay by Arendt, on the Constitution of Dutch Towns.

(3) Stowe, p. 1234.

left for Utrecht,(1) commissioning Stanley to seize Deventer. The mode by which this last contrived to get twelve hundred men into the confiding town, and with Sir William Pelham, to secure the place, is given by Henry Archer.(2) Though five thousand citizens were armed, and the gates kept, yet all opposition disappeared before the dexterity of these two commanders.(3) Thus was this thriving Protestant town, from a vast emporium, hurried into that decadence, which has now left it remarkable only as a manufactory of gingerbread.(4) The citizens were "provoked to madness by a garrison of Irish soldiers, strangers both to humanity, and civility."(5) "The garrison consisted of Roman Catholics, as it was said, although they had very little knowledge on the subject; were half naked, and extraordinarily savage, and rude in their manners; they spoke an

(1) Stowe, p. 1236.

(2) *Harl. MSS.* 285, 294; printed first in Ormerod's *Cheshire*, and then in Appendix to *Leycester Correspondence*, Camden Society. We regret its having been twice published, prevents our giving it.

(3) Persons says, in the *Manifestation*, "For that the place which Sir William gave up, was not under Her Majesty's obedience at that time, nor Sir William, or his soldiers, that held the same, were in her pay, but in the pay of the rebelled States, unto whom, (those of Daventrie being free before, and without any garrison,) the Earl of Leicester by deceit, and force, made them subject, by drawing in an English garrison against their wills;" and, subsequently, he speaks of Stanley as "not only privy, but also present, and consenting, to the usurpation of that city by the Earl of Leicester, against the wills of the citizens, bringing in a garrison upon them by sleight, if afterwards becoming more catholic, and better instructed in religion, he came to know a Christian man's duty in this behalf," &c.

(4) Murray's *North Germany*. (5) Grotius, lib. 5.

unintelligible language, and could not have any intercourse with the inhabitants." (1) A passage in Stowe would induce a belief that Stanley's doings, at this period, were not unknown to the Spaniards. On the day the Irish were introduced, the soldiers at Zutphen "did tell those that did passe by their town to Deventer, that they should hye them, or the gates would be shut." (2)

Leicester gave Stanley, on November 18th, authority to act independently of the Governor of the Province, and empowered him to require assistance from the neighbouring garrisons. The apology for thus nominating Stanley, and with such unusual powers, Governor of Deventer, is stated to be "suspicion of revolt." The States protested against the appointment, for they distrusted his fidelity, (3) and referred to his previous Spanish service. Leicester offered to pledge himself, body, and soul, for the loyalty both of Stanley, and York, (4) and proceeded to give the States the choice of one of these two men, or of Pelham, to command in his absence, which offer was immediately declined. (5) Leicester, perhaps from the increasing favor shown Raleigh, or from the state of the affair of the Queen of Scotland, became very eager to be in London, but Elizabeth insisted on his remaining in Holland, until his successor was

(1) Le Clerc, i. 129. (2) Stowe, p. 1238.

(3) Dissentionibus Fœderatorum plerisque. Strada, ii. lib. 8; Grotius, lib. 5; Thuan. lib. 88, p. 6; Meteeren, lib. 14.

(4) Er sagte, dass er Leib und Seele, für ihre Treue verpfänden wollte. Tozen, i. 366; Reid, v. 199.

(5) Meteeren, lib. 14; Strada, ii. lib. 8.

appointed.(1) For awhile the Earl obeyed, "complaining that whole towns were in a wavering state,"(2) and yet leaving Stanley, York, Marchant, Peyton, and Wingfield, governors of garrisons, each of whom betrayed his trust; and, on 21st November 1586, Leicester wrote to the Queen, "that the world was never so dangerous, nor so full of treason, or of treachery, as at this day," and so he sailed for England.(3) Camden says, the Earl's ever quitting home, was the work of his enemies at Court, practising on his inordinate vanity.(4) He now left the English, and Dutch, soldiers at variance;(5) no supreme commander was appointed to the English army; he publicly gave back to the States the power he had received; but secretly executed a deed by which he retained to himself the authority over his own troops, and absolved his commanders from obedience to the States, and, in some instances, to their own superior

(1) *Leycester Correspondence*, p. 451. (2) *Ibid.* p. 351.
(3) Murdin, p. 592. (4) Camden, lib. 4.

(5) Meteeren, lib. 13; Strada, ii. lib. 8. We are sincere admirers of Sir Philip Sidney, and yet his name, during its brief connection with Leicester's Dutch campaign, is sometimes connected with doubtful persons, and occasions. His nomination to the command of a Dutch regiment, caused the disunion between the Dutch and English services, which so disastrously affected the proceedings of both parties. The traitor Welch was Sidney's friend, and so was spared when Hemart had been executed, which was also greatly resented by the Hollanders. Rowland York too was Sidney's friend, "fuitque per D. Philippum Sidneium maximo in honore habitus." (Met. lib. 14.) "Denn York, welchen die Spanier selbst nicht traueten, und ihn zugleich, als einen zu den verwegensten Streichen aufgelegten Bösewicht furchteten." (Tozen, i. 357.) Camden is still more severe on this man's character.

officers. Each man was left to act as his inclinations guided him, (1) and the Earl presents an example of one, unfaithful both to the Queen, and the States, who, with surpassing credulity, reckoned upon the complete fidelity of those who served under himself. The States were thus fraudulently deprived of power; and the pulpits at Utrecht, and Flushing, under the direction of Leicester's puritan Counsellor, Prouvink, resounded with denunciations of the government at the Hague. (2)

(1) It is hardly possible to over-estimate the weakness of Leicester's conduct. His last moments in Holland, (November 1586,) were employed in corrupting Sonoi, and in cheating the States. What oath he really exacted from his profligate followers, to whom he gave the Dutch towns, it is difficult to discover, and impossible to conjecture. Tozen says that these Governors, were alone bound to the Queen, and to the Earl. But his ignorance of the real state of things is nowhere more clearly shown than in leaving the maritime war to Maurice: "und uberliess den Seekrieg dem Prinzen Moritz, als admirale, und den admiralitaten." (Tozen, i. 373.) In measuring Elizabeth's conduct, it is important that Leicester's proceedings should be thoroughly analyzed, and the degree in which they operated against the States ascertained.

(2) Leicester's principal counsellor, Reingoud, always betrayed him to the Spaniards. Prouvink was a sincere puritan, but supercilious, and crabbed; and Burggraaf, the third counsellor, managed the citizens of Utrecht "und diente nur, wie Hooft sagt, seinem Beutel, und seinem Bauche." (Heeren, i. 496.) Leicester everywhere professed a great attachment to the Puritans. He was, says Grotius, "egregius virtutum simulator." (*Annal.* lib. 5.) He often took the sacrament, and consulted the ministers, and, in utter defiance of the States, summoned a meeting of Protestant clergymen, at the Hague, to form an ecclesiastical government. (Tozen, i. 362; Grotii, *Annal.* lib. 5.) Leicester complained of Norris, that he was not a "relygiowse souldyer." (*Leycester Correspondence*, p. 222.)

Ranke has shown, in his History of the Popes, how Roman Catholicism, mainly by the assistance of the Jesuits, had renewed its strength, and how the Low Countries became the great battle field for the faith, and Elizabeth its most formidable opponent. Parma was surrounded by triumphant ecclesiastics; and the detaching the Walloons, from the Dutch, gave his operations a firmer basis than Alva acquired. The English contributed largely to the Jesuit ranks. "Now it seems God's will that the company should march to battle against the heresy in England," said Mercurian, "since he sends to her such a numerous and valiant host from England." (1) To the Jesuits Stanley bore a great regard: "wyth which order he is exceedingly enchanted, and to them wholly subjected." (2) Allen, to the seminaries he had founded, had attracted many Lancashire men; "but above all the rest, he himself," (Sir William Stanley,) "conversed most in kindness of love, and affection, with one Roger Ashton, who had bin his bed-fellow, and the greatest furtherer of him in this enterprize." (3) The reader will immediately detect in this man the R. A. (4)

(1) Steinmetz, ii. 373.

(2) Appendix, Sadler's *Papers*, ii. 509. (3) *Ibid.* p. 510.

(4) Roger Ashton was probably the third son of Richard Ashton of Croston, (Lancaster,) by Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Hesketh of Rufford. The Ashtons of Croston must not be confounded with the widely-spread family of Ashton of Middleton, Whalley, Chadderton, &c. The Croston Ashton entered Lancashire, temp. Henry VI., by a marriage of Thomas Ashton of Craven, with Alice, heiress of William Lea of Croston, and terminated, temp. Car. II., in two coheiresses, who carried the estate into the houses of de Trafford, and Hesketh of Aughton. Roger Ashton was

whose letter we now print, and which provoked Allen's reply. Stanley, thus induced by Ashton to surrender Deventer, next communicated his plan to Rowland York, (1)

executed at Tyburn, June 23, 1591, "for entertaining missioners, as also for applying himself to the see of Rome for a dispensation in a marriage contract," (Dodd, ii. 154;) Elizabeth keeping back the weightier charges which she had to urge. This Roger had an uncle of the same name, entered as dying in Scotland s.p.; and there is a cotemporary, who followed closely, and profitably, the fortunes of James the Sixth and First, Roger Aston, of the Astons of Aston, (*Cestr.*) generally misspelt Ashton.

(1) Sir Rowland York we believe to be one of the ten sons of the citizen Sir John York, described in Burke's *Commoners* as Lord Mayor of London. The name is not in Stowe's list, but a John Yorke occurs as Sheriff, 1549. The family were distinguished, especially in Sir Edmund, and Sir Edward, who loyally served their country. Not so Rowland, described by Camden as "homo discincto ingenio, et præcipiti audaciâ, suo tempore inter sicarios celebris." This person was a Roman Catholic, but joined, as lieutenant, Morgan's expedition, 1572. (Somer's *Tracts*, i. 360, 364, 367.) His companions were George Gascoigne, and Herle, and they were nearly shipwrecked. (*Censura Literaria*, ii. 2.) York fought for the States, who always distrusted him. (Meteeren, lib. 14, p. 430.) In 1584 he plotted with Imbyss, to deliver Ghent to Parma, and, being detected, narrowly escaped suffering with his accomplice, the Prince of Orange being against the lenity shown. (Met. lib. 12, p. 357.) When Brussells was delivered to Parma, 13th March 1585-6, York was still in prison there, and joining his deliverers, assisted at the siege of Antwerp. Then, by the interest of friends, he was allowed to return to England, where he was received with that welcome which was then given in London to the companion of Spaniards, esteemed the gentlemen of the age. (*Alchemist*, act iv. sc 2.) Hatton, and Sidney too, were York's friends. He then joined Leicester's expedition, but soon quarrelled with his leader, and went over to Parma; then returned; and with that marvellous facility of giving confidence, which was so characteristic of Leicester, York was set over Zutphen sconce. According to Camden, York owed Leicester the old grudge, and only

[illegible] John Baptiste Tassis, [illegible] who,

[illegible] corrupted [illegible] drawing over [illegible] He is [illegible] Appendix, [illegible] Le Clerc does [illegible] His goods, [illegible] with him, were [illegible] at Tyburn, [illegible] Tassis's duty was three years [illegible]

Tassis [illegible] Philip himself were his [illegible] patron, and became in any case [illegible] Spanish Court. He was of the Thurn and Taxis family [illegible] Taxis the poet, and also the di[illegible] the post in Germany, the Tyrol, and the Low Countries, for [illegible] Lamprey mentions a John Baptist Taxis, [illegible] the post in the Netherlands 1578. *Parker Letters*, Parker [illegible] Morgan tells us that Wingfield and Tassis "had [illegible] with Mary Queen of Scots and that the latter had money [illegible] the Queen." Murdin, pp. 4[illegible]. Tassis corrupted York, [illegible] 1581 Philip sent Tassis to Paris, to [illegible] Mendoza; and Bentivoglio describes them as "Simili l'uno e l'altro, [illegible]" In 1585 Tassis was the [illegible] in the treaty of Vervins. (De Thou, ii. 178.) In 1603 Tassis was sent into England on James's accession: the part he [illegible] We refer also to various letters in the [illegible] for Tassis's proceedings, and es[illegible] of the Lady Arabella (p. 188.) which shows he [illegible] Wingfield to corrupt a poor Court. He is also often mentioned in *Winwood's Progresses of James the First*. Sully's purchase of Lord Northumberland, [illegible] upon by Spain, until France, outbribed, affected to despise the act. (Boderie, iii. 37, 293, 302, 306.) The English minister at Madrid appears to have been kept by Spain. (Boderie, iii. 293; Jeannin, ii. 771.)

eager to recommend himself to the governing powers, reported the matter to Parma, and not to Verdugo, the commandant of the province. Stanley always protested that he was impelled by conscience to deliver up the town. (1) The negociations between Stanley, York, and Tassis, (2) were carried on under the pretext of an interchange of presents; and this continued until a liberated prisoner at Arnheim told the magistrates that he had seen the captain of the English guard, with Tassis, at Zutphen, which information being sent to Deventer, Stanley placed the captain in prison, but soon released him. The first design was to originate a brawl between the soldiers and the burghers, and to call in the Spaniards to protect the former. But the citizens gave no opportunity for carrying out this plan, they only complained to the States of the intolerable tyranny of the Irish garrison; (3) and when the soldiers were observed to go regularly to mass at Zutphen, and to be liberally treated by Tassis, the garrison, on representation of these circumstances, remaining unchanged, many townsmen left the place.

The States were anxiously deliberating with Sir John Norris, the general in Over Yssel, as to the best means of preventing the impending loss of Deventer. He addressed a letter to Stanley, as to a subordinate officer, but the latter produced Leicester's authority, giving him an independent

(1) Meteeren, lib. 4, p. 429; Thuan. lib. 88, s. 6; Strada, ii. 467.

(2) This account of the surrender of Deventer is taken from Reidanus, lib. 6.

(3) Grotius, lib. 5, p. 98, already quoted; and Meteeren, lib. 14, p. 429. Se tamen ultra modum superbe, immodeste, et crudeliter, gesserunt.

command; (1) and Gilpin, the Earl's secretary, exhibited an order, by which all power over garrisons was retained by the Earl. This document was dated November 24, the day on which the States had received back from Leicester, without qualification, and publicly, the power with which they had entrusted him. (2) The States, as regarded Elizabeth's officers, were without power to act, and Norris, believing the majority of the garrison would oppose him, only advised the magistrates to proceed with caution. (3) But Stanley, knowing that he was discovered, and that Norris contemplated visiting him, determined to give up the town to Tassis. He placed three hundred Irish in a tower near the gate, a large round building, with many courts. The citizens remarked this proceeding, but, divided into factions, they had no power to interrogate the Governor. The town was paralyzed by religious differences; the Protestants themselves were disunited; and many deprecated opposition, lest Stanley, though naturally amiable, might be driven to extremities. (4) On the night of January 27, 1586-7, many of the townsmen kept themselves ready to take up arms; and on the 28th the magistrates were assembled to hear Stanley's complaint of the suspicion with which he was regarded, and his protestations of fidelity. His audience were

(1) Meteeren, lib. 14, p. 429.

(2) Thuan. lib. 88, s. 6; Meteeren, lib. 13, p. 409.

(3) Meteeren, lib. 14, p. 429.

(4) Meteeren is more decided than Reidanus as to the existence of disunion: Erant enim in hac civitate discordiæ, et cives cum aliis civitatibus contribuere, mutuumque fœdus servare, recusabant. (Lib. 13, p. 409.)

deceived, and even apologized for the distrust that had been entertained. Afterwards, at a feast, Stanley made declarations which removed all doubts. On that evening the execution of the plot was precipitated, owing, probably to the movements of Norris. Stanley told his soldiers, "that because he required the pay due to them from the town, (1) the citizens were preparing an attack, but he would attend to their safety by bringing more troops;" (2) then mounting his horse, and with a troop of cavalry, as though about to surprise an enemy, and leaving two guards of his most trusty soldiers, Stanley set out, (3) and returned between five and six the next morning, bringing Tassis from Zutphen, six miles distant, with six hundred foot and three hundred horse. These were quietly received, marched into the market-place, it being yet dark, and there paraded. (4) The magistrates

(1) Leicester was very improvident with the money the States provided, and which they maintained to be more than was required. (Reidanus, lib. 6, p. 112.) There had been great suffering in the English army on account of arrears. Elizabeth discharged these to the middle of October. (*Leycester Cor.* pp. 433, 448.) When Deventer surrendered "debitum exiguum superesset." (Thuan. lib. 88, s. 6.) And Meteeren adds: "Et paulo ante unius mensis stipendium esset solutum." (Lib. 14, p. 429.) Stanley's pretext was therefore false, there being very little pay due to his men, and surely none from the town.

(2) Meteeren, lib. 14, p. 430; Thuan. lib. 88, s. 6. It is not shown that Stanley had disarmed the burghers. Of his first plan, Reidanus says: Ita ut animus Standlæo videretur, multiplicatis injuriis ad iram impellere civitatem, quo sumtis ad defensionem armis, &c.; but this was only intended; and the night before the treachery, we are told, the more prudent citizens remained out of bed "in armis prompti stetere."

(3) Meteeren, lib. 14, p. 430; Strada, ii. lib. 2, p. 467.

(4) Strada, ut sup.

supposed this military movement was the arrival of the soldiers promised by Stanley, but when the captain of the town bands went to the market-place, he was soon made aware of the real state of matters. Stanley meeting him bade him be of good cheer, for nothing would go wrong. Then taking his hand he led him to the centre of the third line, and, calling Tassis, advised the captain to meet him as a friend; but hearing the name of Tassis, the town's officer exclaimed, "What! then there is treason, and so we are betrayed!" Then Tassis, in Stanley's presence, said the surrender was with the intention to serve the King, and, taking hold of the captain's right hand, requested him to summon the magistrates, and promised that no one should be injured. Of the authorities, some left the town, others visited Stanley and Tassis; and some of the discharged magistracy, (probably those removed by De Meurs in February 1585,) "now hopeful of a new state of things," met together. Tassis courteously saluted them, and referred to Stanley to give the reasons for what had occurred, and he, by an interpreter, thus made his defence: "The delivery of the city was the act of the divine will; that he had regarded neither honor nor rewards, but the words of our Saviour, 'Render unto every one his own; to God the things that be God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's.' He offered this full of hesitation, and with trembling and a confused speech, the manifest index of a mind conscious of wrong."(1) Tassis interposed, apparently impatient of Stanley's moralizing, (2)

(1) Reidanus, lib. 6.

(2) Sed ubi Wilhelmus Stanleius Daventriam, Rolandus Eboracensis

and said that the troops drawn up in the market-place had passed the night without rest, and under heavy rain. These were immediately billeted in the town, and there carried themselves with moderation. The Irish broke into some houses, (1) for which Tassis had a few executed. Stanley, meanwhile, proceeded with his defence, urging "that he had never sworn obedience to the States, (2) and that it had

oppositum Zutphaniæ munimentum, Taxi Hispano accipienti perfidum, et tamen aversanti, tradiderunt, gratiosus apud Leicestrium uterque. (Grotii, *Annal.* lib. 5.) Meteeren and De Thou both mention that Stanley published his defence, mox causas publicavit. (Meteeren.) Perhaps a paper addressed to the public of Deventer, or possibly Allen's letter. Had bribery any effect on Stanley's determination? Magnâ spe a Taxi impletus. (Thuan.) Compensatione, ac mercede, satis opima propositâ. (Meteeren.) Contuttociò ne fù premiato largamentè dal Rè. (Bentivoglio.) Flud deposes that Sir William declared he would stand "to the King of Spaine's reward." Strada, the panegyrist of Stanley, reduces his apology to the ridiculous. Parma is made to say to Philip: "Sed quam ille (Stanley) facti sui mercedem ab unâ Dei manu expectaverit, hujus interim pignus a manu Regi, æmula Divinæ benignitatis, acciperet." (Vol. ii. lib. 8.) Camden says: "Stanley did not receive the honor from the Spaniards he expected, and no sort of trust was reposed in him; for the Spaniards have a proverb, It is right to show a certain respect to a traitor, but confidence never. Therefore too late Stanley became aware he had principally deceived himself." The pay given by Spain, however, hardly equalled his former appointments, and could be no equivalent for the inheritance he abandoned; besides, he soon found that a Spanish pension required much trouble, after it had been promised, to obtain.

(1) Reidanus says that the oath of Stanley's garrison was, that they would defend the town: "Soli Hiberni, urbis defensioni sacramento obstricti, in odium nonnullos irrumpentes, &c." (Lib. 6.)

(2) Person's idea of Stanley's oath seems to be, that he was not bound to Elizabeth, but to the States, and that Leicester could relieve him from his

been a custom with York and himself, Leicester being present, to allude to them as mean fellows. He could not remember how often he had demanded the pay due from the States, he had lately required it of them, and a violation of an engagement was surely treachery on their part." He further declared he had been released from his oath by Leicester, and produced a parchment writing of the Earl's, dated at the time of his appointment to Deventer, whereby, out of friendship to Sir William, the Earl absolved him from his oath, and left him to act as he pleased. The existence of this strange document is recorded in too many quarters to leave any doubt upon the subject. Strada comments upon it, (1) as also Reidanus, who supposes it was a licence given to enable Stanley to act in some possible contingency when intriguing with the Spaniards or the States. Buck-

obligation. This is unintelligible, and is at variance with Stanley's own view of the subject. "Neither can he be said," (we quote from Person's *Manifestation*, &c. 1602,) "to have falsified his faith to Her Majesty in that government, as hath byn shewed, holding not the towne for her, but for the States, whom knowing in his conscience to be rebels, and most wrongfully to detayne from their true Lord and lawful King that and other townes, the good religious Knight thought himself bound to make restitution thereof to the true owner." Now, though Persons was a friend and a partizan of Stanley's, he is not consistent in his statements of Sir William's obligations. Stanley could not have "made his oaths to Leicester," and yet hold "the town not for the Queen, but for the States," the very parties too he denied being his employers. We agree with Grotius in acquitting Leicester of all wish to serve Spain; but vain, and intent on his own interest, the Earl became an easy prey to those who procured his signature to what was used for a different purpose to any he had in view.

(1) Vol. ii. p. 467.

hurst heard of this parchment, and received evidence as to its contents; and Leicester, in reply, does not deny its existence. (1) Flud states that it was sent to Parma for his inspection, and Persons mentions it twice in the *Manifestation*. "He had also, for safeguard of his honour, a particular patent from his general, the Earl of Leicester, when he ventured into England, with expresse licence therein conteyned to leave the service of the States at his pleasure, which patent, we understand, he caused to be shown to Her Majestie's Commissioners at Bullen (2) in the late treaty there;" and again: "Besides all this, he, (Stanley,) had a patent of his general, (to whom he made his oath,) to depart from the service when he should think good; the motive of which grant was, as we have heard, not to be under the service of S. John Norrice, left chiefly in the Earle's place." (3)

The citizens, we apprehend, were now for the first time disarmed, and received passports to go where they pleased, (4) and even the ministers were thus allowed to quit the place. The garrison, with the exception of Captains Cosby and Hovenden, joined the Spaniards. (5) This was said to consist of twelve hundred foot and a body of horse, variously estimated at from two to four hundred; and the

(1) Cabala, ii. 69.

(2) Referring to the ineffectual negotiations from May to July, 1600. (Birch, p. 199.)

(3) Strada concludes his notice of Stanley's defence, by saying, "Sic ille ratione sui redditâ, non tamen perinde ab omnibus accepta." (Vol. ii. lib. 8.)

(4) Thuan. lib. 88, s. 6. (5) Cabala, ii. 13.

force which entered the Spanish service is said to be thirteen hundred,(1) who immediately received two months' pay.(2)

The six captains who adhered to Stanley, we suspect, were Protestants. Flud's deposition proves that their leader soon felt the necessity of strengthening himself with men on whom he could better rely. Ashton, in his letter, states that a considerable number of the soldiers did not profess the Roman Catholic religion, and disliked the treachery, yet all the privates joined Spain. The Dutch service, until Maurice commanded, was never very popular with the English. (3) The captains early petitioned to be received

(1) Camden, lib. 3; Meteeren, lib. 13, p. 408; Thuan. lib. 88, s. 6; Bentivoglio, lib. 3, p. 75. Mox sacerdotes accersit ad legionem suam, quæ ex mille trecentis Anglis, et Hybernis, constabat. (Camden, lib. 4.) The muster vindicates Stanley's honesty from Donne's general imputation:

> Not though a captain do come in thy way,
> Bright parcell guilt, with forty dead men's pay.

(2) Appendix, Sadler's *Papers*, ii. 509. Meteeren (lib. 14, p. 432) only remarks that the men received bonam solutionis stipendii partem.

(3) "The Duche, although we have stood them in great stead, and holpe them at many pinche, yet I could buy as much friendship as thei all do owe us for a barrell of English beere." (Rich, "*Farewell to Militarie Profession.*") The source of the bad feeling was the Dutch regarding the English as mere mercenaries, objects of traffic, for which they paid, as for herrings or butter.

> *Silvio.* What kind of country is this Holland
> That's so much talk'd of, and so much fought for?
> *Ernesto.* Why, friend, 'tis a large ship at anchor, fraught
> With a sort of creature made up of turf,
> And butter.
> *Geraldo.* Prythee, friend, can these Dutch borachios fight?
> *Ernesto.* They can do even as well, for they can pay
> Those that can fight.

back into the Queen's army; and their names and fortunes are given in the tract in the Appendix to Sadler's *Papers*, vols. ii. and iii. Stanley for a short time however continued Governor of Deventer, but distrusted, and held in little estimation, by the high-spirited soldiers of Spain; his regiment disbanded, and then re-formed with foreign recruits, he passed his life a dissatisfied intriguant.

Verdugo, Tassis, and York, soon met in Deventer, besides crowds of ecclesiastics, and for awhile these jarring elements were held in combination. The States were oppressed with "fear, grief, and anxiety," after the surrender of Deventer; or, as Buckhurst expresses it, "he found that all was brought into fears, confusion, and danger of

Silvio. But where, I pray sir, do they get their money?
Ernesto. Oh sir, they have a thriving mystery;
They cheat their neighb'ring princes of their trade,
And then they buy their subjects for their soldiers.
Silvio. Methinks our armies should beat those butter boxes
Out of the world.
Ernesto. Trust me, brother, they'll sooner beat our armies
Out of their country: why ready money, friend,
Will do much more in camps, as well as courts,
Than a ready wit, I dare assure you.
Geraldo. Methinks, comrade, our king should have more money
Than these Dutch rebels; he's master of the Indies,
Where money grows.
Ernesto. But they have herrings, which, I assure you,
Are worth our master's mines.
Geraldo. Herrings! why, what a devil! do they grow
In their country?
Ernesto. No, faith, they fish 'em on the English coast,
And fetch their salt from France.

(Tukes, *Adventures, &c.*, 1663.)

revolt." (1) But Leicester, triumphing in Elizabeth's favor, caused Buckhurst to be imprisoned, and arrived in Holland, to try still further to divide the States and the people, and to enjoy the perplexities of Maurice and Barneveldt.

About six weeks after the surrender of Deventer, "Jhon Flud," sent by Sir William Stanley, with letters and messages, to friends in England, was seized and examined. We proceed to give his depositions, (*Harl. MSS.* 287, fol. 65,) endorsed, "The Examination of John Flud, servante to Sir William Stanley." This Flud must not be confounded with the loyal officer who in these wars laid the foundation of the respectable family of the Irish Floods, and who is designated as "Captain Flud;" nor with a Father Flud, another actor in these scenes, perhaps the "Henry Flood, a Jesuit, the chief agent for transporting nuns to Brussells, Graveling, Lisbon, &c." (*Phœnix Brit.* p. 430; for the names of several Floods, 1624, vid. ibid. p. 436.)

Int'gatoryes where uppon John Flowde was exammyned the xi of March 1586, before Capt. Pryce Seargent Maior, and James Spencer pvast Marishall generall. By the cōandement of the L. generall. (2)

1. Imprimis howe Longe have you served S^{r} Willm̃ Standly?

(1) Meteeren, lib. 14, p. 430; Cabala, p. 2. Tozen says, but gives no authority: Der Straatsrath setzte dreytausend Gulden auf Stanley's und York's Kopfe. (Vol. i. p. 375.)

(2) Sir John Norris, in the absence of Leicester, commanding the English forces, under the limitations already explained.

To the first intgatorie, he saithe, that he hath served Sir Will^{m} Standly VIII or IX yeres or there a bowt. (1)

2. What Lett^{rs}, or message, was sent by you in to England to anny p'sone frome S^{r} Will^{m} Standly, Rowland Yorcke, or annyother, in Deventer?

To the second, he confesseth, that Sir Will^{m} Standly willed him to doe his commendations to his father, and to tell him, that w^{ch} he hadd done was for his contiens. And that this exammynāt shoulde doe the lycke cōmendation to my L. Strange, by that token that he talked with his L. in the chamber at Grenw^{ch}, when he tocke his leve at his Ls., and also to cōmend him to his brother John Pole, (2) by the same token, that he gave him a coltte, w^{ch} he trusted shortly to requite wth a jenett.

3. What Englyshe Captens or others, were p^{r}vey, or consenting to the giving uppe of Devent', and who was chevest of Sir Will^{m} Standly's cowncell?

To the III he confesseth, that he hearde Sir William Standly say, that Capt. Uffington (Hovenden) was sworne to him, and as for Cap^{tn} Cosby, (3) he hadd the watche that

(1) Each answer is signed "Jhon Flud," in a rude handwriting.

(2) John Poole of Capenhurst, Cestr. ob. in vit. pat. He had by Mary Stanley three sons; the eldest was thirty, 11 Jac. 1. (Ormerod.) Perhaps Pool joined Stanley. A Mr. Pool is mentioned by Copley, (Strype's *Annals*, iv. 280,) as living abroad 1596. He is described as "no practiser," and "enemy to none but to himself."

(3) Cosby and Hovenden, having left Stanley, were particularly obnoxious to him. Arnold Cosby addressed a letter to his old colonel, (Utrecht, 16th February 1586,) advising him to retain Deventer for Elizabeth, "notwithstanding the contentions between him and Taxis, for the government, or

night when Taxis entered the towne of Deventer, and that he was also at the fetching of Taxis wth the reste into the towne, and S^{r} Will^{m} Standly lent him a horse for that purpose.

4. What was given to Sir Will^{m} Standly, or p'mised to him, or to añy others, as yo^{u} knowe, for the giving uppe of the Towne?

To the IIII he confesseth he cane saye nothing, but that S^{r} Will^{m} Standly wolde stand to the Kynges of Spaynes Rewarde, but what Sir Will^{m} Stanley đđ to the Captens in towne, hit was in secrett, for he saith he knoweth not.

5. What messages hathe S^{r} Will^{m} Standly sent into England, or Ireland, and what be there names, and for what purpose were they sent as yo^{u} knowe?

To the 5th he confesseth that one Salseburye (Salisbury,) and Roger Ashton, did go with Yorcke to Brusselles, frome whence the said Ashton was to be dispatched in to Ireland, to convay my Lady Standly and hir chilldren, (1) where he

the expectation of great forces from the Prince (of Parma,) to remove him, as what will no doubt recover his credit, pardon, and Her Majestie's favour, and offers himself to be employed to further this service." (Oldys's *Librarian*, p. 277.) Cosby founded his letter on the rumours which reached Utrecht; but the effect of this, and similar communications, and of Stanley's vacillation, was, to cause those suspicions of him which led to his removal from Deventer. Cosby (circ. 1598,) killed Lord Bourke in a duel on Finchley Common, and the service in Holland was vainly pleaded to stay his execution. (Burke's *Commoners*.)

(1) De Thou alludes to Stanley's having a wife and children, as making his treason more remarkable. Meteeren adds, that they were left to the bounty of Stanley's father. Strada makes Parma write to Philip, that

hadd apoynted, (and to doe other his bysynes what so ever,) and that Yorcke and thaye also caried wth them S^{r} Will^{m} Standlye his pasporte, to shewe the Prynce, (Parma,) that he might serve where he wolde, and that Hen Overyng, his clarke, was sent with Lett^{rs} for Ireland, to what purpose he knoweth not, unlesse to Jaques, (1) for S^{r} Will^{m}, posyng

Stanley's large fortune had been confiscated, and his wife and children dragged to prison. Lady Stanley joined her husband, and died in exile. We are indebted to George Ormerod, Esq., for a copy of the following inscription, still to be seen near the high altar at Mechlin Cathedral:

> Ici gist la noble dame Elizabeth Egerton, jadis espeuse
> de tre prude't chevallier Messr. Guillaume Stanley coronel
> et du conseil de guerre de sa Ma'te de espagne
> la queille trespasser de ceste vie de 10 d'Avril 1614.
> Prie Dieu pur son ame.

(1) Stanley's efforts to secure officers for his regiment, were evidently made in anticipation of the defection, which soon occurred, of the existing officers. Copley writes to the Council, 1596: "Touching Sir William Stanley, no doubt he hath repented himself heartily of his undutiful action of Deventer, and considering the little he is now accounted, of the Prince of Flanders, and the King in Spain. The undoing the regiment is his extreme grief and discontent; for now it is almost come to nothing, scarce an 150 men remaining of it. Jaques, I suppose, wisheth himself in Ireland again, seeing how much his hope of advancement in Flanders, by Sir William Stanley, is come now to nothing." (Strype's *Annals*, iv. 279.) "The olde English and Irish souldiers being worne out, Sir Wm. Stanley was faine to fill up his regiment with Wallons and Dutchmen, appointing new captains over them, and making one Jaques Francesco his lieutenant coronell, one born in Antwerp of Italian parents, but from his infancy brought up in England, and in many dueties tied both to the nation, and to sundry gentlemen of the same, for many their loves and liberalities towards him, especially to the late Lord Chancellor, (Hatton,) whom he served, and who had always been his especial good friend and favourer. Jaques is

Lett^{rs} sent unto him by dyvers, where of p^{te} he cancelled, and some he detayned, as one spetially sent him by the said Jaques, where uppon S^{r} Will^{m} wth good wordes sorowyng Jaques yvill happ, said that he hadd writen to Jaques a month before what wolde come to passe, and he hadd admonyshed him thereof, and willed him to come over to him for the seyd Jaques had avowed to him that he wolde never s've a genst the Kynge of Spayne.

6. What p'sons are here amonge hir Ma^{ties} forces that hathe written to Sir Will^{m} Standly, or to Yorcke, synce the giving uppe of Devent^{r} or Rescayved any message, or Lett^{rs} from them, or geven them any intylenge [intelligence]?

To the VI he can saye nothing.

7. Whome have yo^{u} harde S^{r} Will^{m} Standly saye, or Rowland Yorcke, that they reposed moste Trust in, eayther here, in England, or Ireland?

To the VII he confesseth he had II letters, one to my L. Strange, and the other to John Pole, wrytten by S^{r} Will^{m} Standly, but what was wrytten in them he knoweth not, and that he burnt the same letters at Ryne.

stated to have behaved well in Ireland, and to have been trusted, promoted, and largely rewarded, and ingaged with these curtesies, which for ever wold have tied a thankful minde, he was suffered to depart the realme; all which, notwithstanding, it is reported that there is not anie beyond the sea, that doth run a more violent and unreverent course against the person of Her Majesty than he doth." "But as for Jaques, if he will needs run on his desperate course, forgetfull of the oathes and protestations hee made when hee departed out of England, let him likewise attend that scourge and punishment which ever followeth such infidelitie." (Appendix, Sadler's *Letters*, ii. 511.)

He further confesseth that he willed him to send one Swyfte his fawknor dwelling in Whorel (Wirral) over to him.

It^m one Francis Jackson (1) borne in the Malpasse, whom he sent w^th Lett^rs, but he returned not, to send him also.

The exammynation of the said Flowde taken the XIIII of Marche.

The sayde Flowde confesseth that S^r Will^m Standly willed him to dooe his comendations to M^r Edward Standly (2) of Yoley w^th in VI miles of Chester, by that token, the last tyme thaye spacke together in the Forrest of Delamere, that he shoulde come over to him, and he shoulde be Capt. of the Kerne, for he is a good Catholicke, as S^r Will^m sayd.

(1) "But for the providing of his college, Father Parsons sendeth to one Thomas James, who lyeth at Madrid only to solicit the causes of Father Parsons. Which James went in April last, 1593, to Seville. And now in Thos. James' place is Francis Jackson, employed at Madrid. Which Jackson hath of Sir William Stanley 600 reals, 5 shillings a piece, for to receive, and transport by bank, from Spain, to Brussells, a pension of 300 crowns a month, granted by the King of Spain, to Sir William Stanley, for his Life-time. Which pension in May last, as I understand by Jackson, as also by letters sent from Sir William Stanley to the said Jackson, to be delivered to Don Juan dey Diaques, (Idiaques,) that for the space of a year and a half, he had received no pay at all out of Spain." (Whitfield's *Intelligence;* Strype's *Annals*, iv. 192.)

(2) Edward, (should be Robert,) the owner of Yowley, (Ewlowe, or Eulo,) a township of Hawarden, Flintshire, on the confines of that county next Cheshire. With this Robert, who married a Salisbury, and had one child, a daughter, the Yowley branch of the Stanleys became extinct. Leland describes "Castell Yollo," and Speed gives the castle and the hall in his map. Robert was born 1549; he had an uncle Edward.

It^m that he should bringe w^t him his cosen Harry Standly (1) of Crosshall, who shoulde lyve here verye well, and according to his contiens, and he shoulde have a Levetennantes paye w^th owt cheete, and to bringe M^r Massey (2) of Alforde, w^th him, if he be owt of p'son, and tell him, if any man wynne heven w^th trouble, he wynnes hit, Also he wyshidd for his Cosen Hocknell, and Mr. Whyttmore. (3)

It^m the said examynat' demanded by Sir Will^m Standly howe thaye shoulde come to him? and he said by Emden, (4)

(1) The great grandson of George, Lord Strange, his brother, and himself, dying without issue, Crosshall passed to the Stanleys of Aughton and Bickerstaff, ancestors to the present Earls of Derby.

(2) Richard Massey of Aldford, (Cestr.) born 1566. His family ended with Richard's daughter, who married a Dutton. In January 1583-4, this Massey, as appears by Walsingham's letter, (Peck's *Desid. Cur.* i. 143,) had been once to Rome. He was intending to go again, when he was apprehended, and examined before Henry, Earl of Derby. (*Ibid.* p. 144.) In June 1584, Hatton interfered, and asked indulgence for him, and assured the commissioners that they will find him reformed. (*Ibid.* p. 151.) Sir William Stanley, it will be observed, suggests that Massey might then be in prison. It would be curious to collect the evidence of Hatton's Roman Catholicism, and doubtful friendships.

(3) Hocknell of Prenton, and Hocknell (Hockenhall) and Whitmore of Thurstanton, families living in Wirral, and allied to Stanley of Hooton.

(4) "The Court of Emden is stark naught, and the King of Spaynes for life," writes Leicester. (*Correspondence*, p. 129.) The Counts of East Friesland, created 1543 by Charles the Fifth, were true to his son. Besides this, Emden and Hamburgh, ("a villainous towne, and wholly the King of Spayne's"—*Ibid.*) became the refuge for Dutch merchants, whom Leicester, and Reingoud, prevented trading with Spain, and who had a prosperous commerce from these ports. Elizabeth and the States had at first either urged, or sanctioned, this restriction of commerce; but it was no more

and he to bringe them, and for his paynes he shoulde have xx nobles, and a sute of a pell., and for dowpte of his passage, Sir Will^m willed him to serve Cap^tn Hitcoke [Hitchcock?] till he come over, and then he might steale awaye to him, and the gent'men to come in company of others, and to doe the lycke.

It^m to tell his father that his Exc. unkynd deling, and my L. generall's yvill using of him at Dewesborough, was a grett mislycking to him.

The examinacyon of the said Flowde taken the xv of Marche.

Sir Will^m Standly willed him to tell my L. Strange, that hir Ma^tie is but a shadowe, and one person, if God shoulde will hir Ma^tie, (1) he wolde be one that shoulde stand my L. Strange in stede, one daye, as anny one man, and that hir Ma^tie was Ruled by them, that hath sett hir Ma^tie at warres w^th all the worlde.

Also doe yo^u say to my L. Strange, that when the blacke man is owt of hir Ma^ties sight, she is not well plesed, who puttith all men in dispayer in his absens. The Service the blacke man hath done hit is no marvayle of his recompence. This examinat' saith, that the blacke man is ment to be Sir Walter Rawley, and tell my L., if I coulde have written to his L. without int'cepting, he wolde have written more at

maintainable then, than afterwards, in 1702, when Marlborough attempted the same course. Holland, Zealand, and Friesland insisted on supplying their enemies, it is said, even with gunpowder. Tozen has a long notice on this subject. (Vol. ii. p. 1047.)

(1) Chè dir nol posson con parola integra. (*Inferno*, canto 7.)

large, but he lokyth for answare from his Lord by this exammynat. (1)

(1) Ferdinando, Lord Strange, was third in descent from Henry the Seventh, whilst the Stuarts, though of the older line, were fourth in descent. The Jesuits therefore affirmed that the Stanleys "were next in propinquity of blood." (Dolman.) The claim of the Stanleys to the crown is as early as 1564. (Haynes, p. 412.) Lord Strange, and Sir William Stanley, were friends under varied circumstances. There was a difference of twenty-five years in their ages; then Strange was the zealous coadjutor of the puritan Chaderton, (Peck's *Desid. Cur.* i. 147,) though Persons (in Dolman's *Conference*) says this Lord was of three religions.

It is however here shown, that the heirs of the two great Stanley houses of Hooton, and Lathom, were on terms of great and suspicious intimacy; and we cannot doubt that Lord Strange hearkened to proposals to be made king, probably after Elizabeth's death. Yonge's confession (Strype's *Annals*, iv. 103,) throws some light on the matter. He was at Seville with Persons 1590. "At that time he, Persons, was writing to Sir William Stanley, who was shortly to go into Italy, to see Rome, and from thence into Flanders. In this letter he sent him word how now, at length, by the favour of Idiaques, the King had yielded to his request, for the first attempt against England. But not before '93, because of the great hindrances that rose in France daily. Yet they hoped by that time to have Brest in Brittany, where he should have sixteen great ships with 10,000 men. From which place he should have more commodity to come to the Irish Kernes, his old acquaintance, and from thence easily to arrive near his own country, where 19 (Lord Derby) would be ready to assist him, and that young one, 14, (Lord Strange) he hoped would also help, although now he would hold no water, but disclosed every one that seemed to move him in the matter." Lord Derby died September 25, 1592; and Richard Hesketh was sent by Holt, (Collier's *Church History*, vii. 253,) Sir William Stanley, (Appendix, Sadler, iii. 20,) and others, to persuade the new Earl to claim the crown, promising Spanish assistance, and threatening, if the design was divulged. (Camden, lib. 4.) Lord Derby would however "hold no water," and delivered Hesketh to justice, who was executed at St. Alban's, Michaelmas

It^m to tell my L. Strange, That Rowland Yorcke was sworne unto S^r Will^m to Joyne w^th him, that what so ev^r he shoulde doe he woulde doe the licke, what the cawse is, Judge my L. generall.

He confesseth that Roger Asheton did carry w^th him into Ireland III Lett^rs w^ch he had forgotten to disclose, Thaye ware directed, the one to the white Knight, the other to the Sential of Munster, the III to Patrick Cundy, w^ch by chance he did se the superscription, but what was in them he knowe not.

Further he confesseth that the wight Knight hadd the delyvering of the other 2 letters, and not Asheton. Therefore he wolde Asheton, with those III myght be taken, and that shortly, for he take hit thaye knowe some of S^r Will^m Trayterus devices by this tyme.

Also, he confesseth that the Soōne of the white Knight is w^th S^r Will^m Standly, a youth of XII yeres, w^ch speke good Spanishe, for he was brought uppe in Spayne.

After, for three days, thus examining Flud, he appears to have been finally consigned to the Provost Marshal, and the following notice (*Harl. MSS.* 287, fol. 85,) somewhat con-

1593, and at the scaffold, "naming Sir William Stanley, and others, cursed the time he had ever known anie of them." (Appendix, Sadler, iii. 20.) Lord Derby died, under strange circumstances, April 16, 1594. (Lodge's *Illustrations*, iii. 47; Stowe; Dodd, ii. 160, who denies Hesketh's allegations.) Whether this nobleman's death was the realization of Hesketh's threats, is not clearly ascertained. The Rufford, and Aughton, Heskeths, were both Roman Catholics, and had both a Richard in this generation, so the identification of Lord Derby's unfortunate acquaintance is now difficult.

fusedly describes his fate: "It is reported that they have charged Sir W. Stanley's lieutenant with receipt of letters, whereuppon he hath been condemned, and executed, on Monday last, by shot, at Dixmude." "Of late there are come to Stanley some irish noblemen." There is no date to this paper, but some person besides Wynne, or Hart, who, after the affair at Deventer, successively filled the place of Stanley's lieutenant, must be alluded to, as is shown in the Appendix to Sadler's *Papers*, where the fortunes of those officers are given.

The Jesuits, having won Deventer, immediately wrote to the Pope, Philip, Parma, and Allen, magnifying the importance of the service, and claiming reward, and countenance, (1) for Stanley and his regiment. "Down came priests thick, and three-fold, from France and Italy, catechising the new soldiers with many masses and continual sermons; and generally, men that, for their conscience, lay dispersed in other parts, all drew down thither, in hopes of the great payment and golden world, that was there talked of." (2) Thomas Worthington of Blainscow, Lanc. (3) was

(1) Strada, ii. lib. 8. (2) Strype's *Annals*, ii. 428.

(3) Wood, ii. 509; Dodd, ii. 391. We have pedigrees of Worthington of Blainscow, in Smith, and Flower's *Visitation*, *Harl. MSS.* 6159, fol. 81, and in the *Shakerley of Vernon*, *Lanc. MSS.* iii. 291, (which last has been kindly sent to us by Mr. Canon Raines,) and we take the following to be a correct account of the family at the period of which we treat. Thomas Worthington, the priest, and friend of Allen, was born 1549, the fourth son of Peter, who died 20 Eliz., by his wife, Isabel Anderton of Euxton. His life, given by Dodd, shows Thomas to have been an earnest and consistent Roman Catholic. He was "put into the pit in the tower 1584, and there

sent by Allen, to be chaplain to Stanley and his soldiers; (1) and, as "at Rheims and Rome, there were seminaries for Ecclesiastics, so this being conducted by so worthy a Catholic as Sir William Stanley, might be a continual nursery and seminary of soldiers to fight for the Roman Catholic cause." (2)

On the day upon which Deventer surrendered, Rowland York gave up Zutphen sconce. This he performed in his own ill-conditioned way, subjecting the English colours, under which he had so often fought, to every species of

remained two months and three days." (Tierney's Dodd, iii. 156.) On June 21, 1585, he was of a party "of three Jesuits, seventeen priests, and one layman, who were unexpectedly, by the Queen's order, put on board a vessel, and landed, against our wills, in Normandy." (*Ibid.* iii. 158.) Thus persecuted, and contemptuously dismissed, throughout Elizabeth's reign, Worthington sided with her most determined enemies, and even sought her life. His nephew and namesake, the owner of Blainscow, married, not Allen's sister, but his niece, the youngest daughter of Richard Allen of Rossall. The entry in the pedigree in the *Lanc. MSS.*, "Mary d. and h. of John Allen of Rossall," (seeing this John had four sons, and transmitted his property to the eldest,) must be corrected to "granddaughter." Besides, Mary Allen, the Cardinal's sister, was of another generation, and would have been a very old wife to the heir of Blainscow's uncle. William Worthington, (ob. 1663,) the eldest son of Mary Allen, married Ann Biddulph, (co. Stafford;) and Thomas Worthington the priest, after a life of exile, danger, and vicissitude, died in 1622, aged 77, at Mr. Biddulph's house in Staffordshire. Dodd's account of Worthington's proceedings in relation to Douay College, of which he appears to have been superior, from 1599 to 1613, is very confused; and the circumstances by which he was enabled to return to England in safety, are not explained. We do not however find his name connected with such acts of hostility to James, as it is towards Elizabeth.

(1) Camden, lib. 4. (2) Strype's *Annals*, iii. 428.

insult. He then went to Deventer, and commenced intriguing to be made governor. When Flud left, Stanley and York appear to have been friends, but they soon entered into "a great mislyke of one another, and, by degrees, into deadly quarrels and challenges." (1) Verdugo, (who came to Deventer, enraged at Tassis, for concealing the negotiations for the surrender from him, and extending this feeling to Stanley, who had applied himself to a subaltern officer,) soon became of counsel with York. This last pointed out the indecision of Stanley, now increased by his remorse, and by the constant attempts of friends to make him retrace the fatal step, and restore Deventer to the States; and thus York obtained from Verdugo a promise to assist him in becoming governor. The Spanish general wrote to Parma his suspicions of Stanley, and his Irishmen, "aggravating the matter with so many additions of his own, that the Duke counted the town half lost already." The struggle in Deventer lasted some weeks; and Cosby, in the letter already given, speaks of Parma's expected arrival there, and asks Stanley to give the town to the Queen, whilst yet he is able to do so. Buckhurst writes: "Verdugo is in Deventer, but as it is thought Sir William Stanley and his companions are as yet the stronger." (2) The distribution of one half the Irish to the neighbouring towns first betrayed Stanley's defeat. (3) "The whole were then ordered out, and their goods plundered, since which

(1) We take this narrative from "The Estate of the English Fugitives." (Sadler's *Papers*, Appendix, ii. 478.)

(2) Cabala, ii. 11. (3) Meteeren, xiv. 430.

time the regiment of seminary soldiers, with all their religion, were never trusted in any towne, nor ever will be." (1) The bravery and sufferings of this band are dwelt upon in the tract from which we quote: "They were wintered in the field, and fed on dried acorns, which diett their priests not lyking of, came to their coronell at Antwerp, who, to avoid the lamentations, and complaints, of his soldiers, had gotten him thither before, where one Oliver Eustace, an Irish gentleman, told him to his face, that he was the author of these poor men's miserie, and therefore bound in conscience to procure them relief. Sir William bitt his lip, knowing he told him the truth, and their calamity went to his very heart, but how to remedy it he knew not, therefore absented himself in Antwerp, where you should never have found his table without three or four priests, some of which were, in their behaviour and words, far more insolent and sawcy than the meekness of their vocation required, insomuch that the captains and gentlemen took such grief and scandal at their controlling humor, that they left Sir William wholly abandoned and unfrequented." (2) Stanley however had good friends in the Jesuits, and Persons told Philip "of the worthiness and virtue" of the Knight, and

(1) Sadler, Appendix, ii. 505.

(2) The first set of captains of whose fate such minute details appear in Sadler's *State Papers*, Appendix, were soon replaced by others. Dee, in his *Diary*, p. 31, states: "Mr. Duerend and Mr. Hart went towards Stade; they had escaped from the Spanish service in Flanders, with Syr William Stanley." These were of the second set; and Stanley at last got officers of a very decided character, as Jaques, Guy Fawkes, &c.

"of his experience in the sea coasts of England, and especially of his intelligence as to Ireland;" and in consequence of this, Stanley was sent for to Madrid, and, being introduced into the Council of War, urged Philip to make Ireland the basis of his operations in an attack on England.(1) From the days of Perkin Warbeck, to those of James the Second, or of Hoche, this has been a cherished idea amongst the enemies of England, and Philip often acted upon it; and subsequently, under Tyrone, it appeared to have some chances of success, until D'Aguilar's experience proved its inapplicability.

Philip, who had rejected the advice of Parma and Idiaques, on the subject of the armada, paid no attention to Stanley, who "wrote letters to Holt the Jesuite, being in Brussells, (which is his countriman, and one upon whom he chiefly relieth,) of great discontentment, and signifying that his entertainment was far colder than he expected."

He next went to Corunna to advise Medina Sidonia as to the best method of invading England, and here Burgh, a witness on Perrot's trial, met Stanley, who preferred a debarkation at Milford haven to landing at Portsmouth; and we find him in 1603 repeating this opinion to Philip the Third. About this time, according to Copley,(2) Lamot offered Stanley a wager, that the English fleet would not abide the attack of the Spaniards; the Knight seems quietly to have replied that he thought otherwise.

(1) Strada, ii. lib. 9; where Stanley's speech to Philip may be read at length.

(2) Strype's *Annals*, iv. 281.

Stanley returned to the Low Countries, (1) and although his own regiment hardly existed, yet, in July 1588, he appeared at Nieuport, at the head of seven hundred men, called the English legion, but chiefly consisting of foreigners, ready to join the armada. De Thou (2) makes these men go on shipboard, "eager to have either the glory or the advantage of landing first in England;" we much doubt however whether they ever embarked, Copley says it was "supposed," or "intended," (3) and meanwhile, the English refugees "sorrowed to see how they were disdained by the Spaniards;" (4) and Camden says: "Inter quos septingenti profugi Angli, qui omnium despicatissime habiti." Parma, mortified at the defeat of the armada, treated them with great neglect; and Stanley returned "discontented to Antwerp, there hired a house, where four or five months he lived full of melancholy expressions, making evident show that his mind was utterly unable to bear the burthen of so great an indignity." (5)

In 1590 Stanley was again at Madrid, urging some design for the invasion of England; he then went to Rome, (6) and must have there known Allen, returning the Easter of 1591. During the visit in Spain, he went to the sea ports, and appears to have taken part in preparing to resist Drake. The invasion, which Persons eagerly promoted, was fixed for 1593. In returning from Rome, Stanley was entertained by

(1) Charles and Buckingham took twelve days to ride from Paris, to Madrid, 750 miles. Stanley made the journey from Brussells, to Madrid, even when past ninety.

(2) Lib. 89, p. 536. (3) Strype's *Annals*, iv. 281. (4) *Ibid.*
(5) Appendix, Sadler, iii. 6. (6) Strype's *Annals*, iv. 103.

the Bishop of "Montesiaston," [Montefiascone?] at supper, and there warmly expressed his apprehension, in the event of the Queen's death, of the Lady Arabella being proclaimed as her successor. There is a not very clear account of four soldiers being sent into England by Stanley at this time, with passes from Roger Williams, to recruit for the refugee regiment. (1) We do not find that Stanley took any part in Parma's two French campaigns, or in opposing Maurice, and Vere. Allied to the Jesuit party, the Knight shared in all their desperate projects. (2) On Garnet's trial, Stanley,

(1) Strype's *Annals*, iv. 106.

(2) Tytler's assumption of the superior guilt of assassination, over rebellion, is inapplicable to the morals of the sixteenth century. Sismondi, alluding to the imputation on Coligni of assassinating Guise, remarks: "Lacretelle declare que l'histoire ne doit pas hésiter à l'en absoudre, une connaissance plus intime de l'esprit des temps ne confirme pas cette décision. La guerre privée etoit, autant que la guerre publique, dans les habitudes du gentilhomme. La meurtre étoit une de ces actions auxquelles il se croyoit appellé par état, et qui ne lui inspirait point de repugnance." (T. 18, p. 375.) Voltaire, *Les Mœurs*, c. 164, 174; Turner's *Modern History*, iv. 364. Stanley is implicated, and on good evidence, in inciting Cullen, Williams, and York, to kill Elizabeth: "Qui omnes instigati a Stanleio ejusque vicario Jacobo (Jaques,) et Jesuita Holtio, ac aliis septem vel octo profugis Anglis, pluribus de ea re Bruscellis inter se habitis consultationibus, ingentem ei pollicentes pecuniam." (Meteeren, lib. 17, p. 575.) This accusation is borne out, as respects the three last, by the depositions and confessions given, in connection with the processes, in "Rob. Abbotti *Antilogia*," &c., Londini, 1613, cap. 8, 9, where Stanley, Holt, Owen, Jaques, and others, are shown to have instigated those attempts at assassination. That Stanley's name is omitted in the requirement Elizabeth proposed to make to the Archduke Ernest, for the giving up of Holt, Owen, Worthington, &c., (Lingard, viii. 388,) occurred probably because he was considered a mere

Owen, and others, are charged with inviting Cullen to kill the Queen. Grotius states, that Stanley was one of the promoters of the attempt to assassinate Maurice 1594, (1) and from 1591, to about 1604, the Knight shared in the conspiracies of Owen, and Holt, and seems blindly to have followed their guidance. If political objects compelled Stanley to adopt a Mordanto's habit of traversing Europe, it was also forced upon him by his pecuniary requirements. The English exiles were generally in a state of penury from the non-payment of their Spanish allowances. In 1591 Stanley was at Madrid, with six attendants, and two hundred ducats per month. In 1593, he is said to have three hundred ducats from the King of Spain, but "in May last

tool of the Jesuits. The modes of consultation used for the plot, for which Williams and York suffered 1595, are curious: "Williamus se cum Jaquezio conjunctissimum agnoscit ad contubernium, usque et ejusdem lectuli communionem, interrogatum se ab illo fatetur cum Hispano Regi obsequium, et operam suam adversus Reginam in Anglia non deferat. Frequentem se ait sermonem cum Stanleio, Holto, Worthingtono, &c. Bruscellæ, Antwerpiæ, aliisque locis habuisse. Yorkium sæpe cum Stanleio in cubiculo suo contulisse." (*Antilogia*, ut sup.) In York, the reader will recognize the poor boy in whose fate his uncle, Sir Rowland York, was interested, and that the goods of the latter, on his death, were plundered, as an inducement to act in the plot: "Significatum ibi ab eis quam facile illi esset avunculi bona, hactenus detenta, recuperare." We cannot accept the denial of Holt's friends as to his complicity in this affair, as proving anything but the existence on the public mind of a detestation of assassination; and this growing, and correct, feeling, was afterwards evinced when Stanley, and Worthington, occupied themselves in procuring signatures to a testimonial in Holt's favour. We observe Meteeren charges Stanley with being a participator in the Lopez affair.

(1) *Annal*, lib. 13.

had received nothing for a year and a half." (1) The mode in which these English pensioners, who are described as the most "miserable, and discontented, troupe of gentlemen in the whole world," were paid, is given in the "Estate of the English Fugitives," said to be written by Thomas Scarlett. We find Stanley two years, a year and a half, and six years, in arrear of his pension, and only obtaining the money by repeated journeys to Madrid.

In 1596, the English refugees were solicited by Stanley, and Worthington, to sign an attestation to the merits of William Holt; (2) the matter seems to have been regarded by the public with disfavour. Fifty-one officers, and men, of Stanley's legion signed, besides others; and amongst the names are those of Guy Fawkes, and of Elizabeth Allen the widow, late of Rossall. Stanley continued true to the desperate party with which he had associated himself. Sir Henry Neville, 27th June 1599, writes to Sir Robert Cecil, that the fugitives abroad are divisible into two classes — those who will not consent to the invasion of England by a foreign Prince, and the Jesuits, who would oppose the existing state of things by every means; and adds, that all the English gentlemen in the Low Countries were of the moderate party, "excepting Sir William Stanley, Holt, Owen, and three or four more." (3)

It would be refreshing to connect Sir William Stanley with other pursuits than those to which we have hitherto referred. We have eagerly watched his career, to find that

(1) Strype's *Annals*, iv. 192. (2) Tierney's Dodd, iii. 90.
(3) Winwood, i. 51.

the courtier of Philip the Second, the visiter of Rome and Italy, and the resident at Antwerp, appreciated the Titians in the Escurial, the Raphaels in Italy, and had an intimacy with that princely artist, Rubens; but we can only trace him on one occasion out of the dark path of treason, and association with Elizabeth's enemies. Peter Philipps, "our rare countryman, organist to their Altezzas at Brussells, now one of the greatest masters of musick in Europe," (1) dedicated to Sir William Stanley a book, entitled "Madrigalls for eight voices, Antwerp, 1599."

In the attempt to procure an invasion, on Elizabeth's death, Stanley was an actor, and he sent his subaltern officer, Guy Fawkes, in 1603, to Spain, on this matter, with the emissary of Catesby. (2) In 1604 Winter arrived in the Netherlands with a two-fold plan; first, of an invasion, which everybody was tired of hearing mentioned, and, second, of the gunpowder plot, which, failing the other, was a kind of dernier ressort. Stanley at this time appears to have been negotiating his own pardon. Winter sought Guy Fawkes as fit "for councill and execution," and Owen strongly recommended him; but Fawkes was not at Brussells, and Winter, returning, encountered him at Ostend, with Sir William Stanley, who told him the Archdukes and "all those parts were weary of war, and desired peace with

(1) Peacham's *Complete Gentleman*, 1627, p. 102; and Wood's *Fasti*, p. 283.

(2) Examination of Fawkes, November 25, 1605; Jardine, ii. pp. 140, 273; Tierney's Dodd, Appendix, iii. 54. Stanley had previously sent Wright to Madrid, and now despatched Fawkes, to warn Philip against trusting James, and to recommend Milford haven for debarkation.

England, and would have no speech of other enterprize." Winter did not even tell Stanley of the invasion, but said "there was no such resolution, and fell into other speech, asking him of Master Fawkes, who Sir William much commended; and as they were in speech, Fawkes came in. Sir William told him, This is the gentleman you spoke of, and after they had embraced," Winter invited him to England; and the gunpowder plot was first communicated to Fawkes, (after being sworn and receiving the sacrament, with Catesby, Percy, &c.) behind St. Clement's Church, Strand. Then Fawkes went back to tell Stanley and Owen, under an oath of secrecy. "Master Fawkes departed about Easter, and returned at the end of August. He brought word that Sir William Stanley was not returned from Spain, and he uttered the matter only to Owen, who seemed well pleased with the business; but told him, that surely Sir William would not be acquainted with any plot, as having business now afoot in the Court of England." (1) The evidence on Garnet's trial is according to this narration; but neither there, nor in Sir Thomas Edmondes' letter, (2) where an intention is said to exist, of offering Stanley the command of the troops, (in the event of the refusal of Lord Arundel,) which were designed to proceed from the Low Countries to follow up the powder plot, is Stanley shown to have any knowledge of the affair. Edmondes, writing 27th December 1605, (3) says, Stanley is not accused of having a knowledge of the powder plot; and Cecil, January 30, 1605-6, (4) al-

(1) Carleton, (Bishop,) pp. 187, 192. King James on Powder Plot.
(2) Birch's *Negotiations*, p. 230. (3) Winwood, ii. 184. (4) *Ibid.* p. 189.

together exonerates him from the charge. Yet it is sometimes preferred, and Wade, in the list at the Tower of the conspirators, enumerates Sir William Stanley.(1) In the negotiations preceding the twelve years' truce, 29th March 1609, Stanley was at Madrid; and Cornwallis complains, 7th July 1608, of the information he was affording the King, with whom Stanley "hath been lately, and yesternight made his return hither,"(2) and adds, "Now serves the time for the Jesuite fugitives, who were before fallen from their wonted height, to fish newe access, and credit, in this troubled water." The Jesuit novitiate establishment, founded at Louvain 1607, was partially removed to Liege 1614, and Sir William Stanley took a great interest in the undertaking, to which he largely contributed, recommending his cousin, Father John Gerard, to be set over it. The priests speak of Sir William in the most grateful manner, and he, in return, "took it exceeding kindly that he should be used in a business so grateful unto him, offered not only his name and countenance, (which only we asked,) but also to concur thereunto." "The good old Knight" employs "Cousin Whitmore," no doubt the person mentioned in Flud's deposition, as his agent in the transactions incident to the removal of the novitiate.(3)

When Williams, who through the Griffiths' was nearly related to Sir William Stanley, was sworn a privy counsellor, 18th June 1621, James "told him pleasantly that he thought not the worse of him, nor suspected his fidelity, though he

(1) *Archæologia*, xii. 195. (2) Winwood, ii. 416, 417; Birch, p. 293.
(3) Tierney's Dodd, Appendix, iv. 47.

knew well enough, that Sir William Stanley, then living, a great traitor to his Prince and country, was his near kinsman." (1)

We now bring the unfortunate Knight to the last scenes of his prolonged life. Wadsworth(2) met Stanley at Madrid in 1624, and states that, at his suggestion, he resolved to follow the wars. The following passage occurs in the book: "Sir William Stanley, who betrayed Deventer to the Spaniards." "This Knight laments now his misfortunes, and says he has outlived his friends; and, in the year 1624, he was constrained to go to Spain in his old age, having now seen ninety-five years, and there to go, cap in hand, to all privy counsellors to crave his pension, which had not been paid him in six years before; and after he had spent three months in petitioning them, they granted him ten thousand crowns, and the title of an earl, to sell, or bestow, on whom he pleased; and thus he returned to Flanders, leaving his money in the hands of a Spanish Jesuit, Father Antonio, Vasquez by name, who promised to return it to him by a bill of exchange, but never did it to this day. Whereupon, seeing himself thus couzened in his old age, turned Carthusian at Austend, and gave the Carthusians there (3) his plate

(1) Hacket's Williams, p. 6.

(2) *The English Spanish Pilgrim*, James Wadsworth, 4to, 1629. We are indebted to Mr. Hunter for this reference.

(3) The English settlement of Carthusians at Mechlin is described in Fuller's *Church History*, vi. 365. They were "so puffed up with hopes of regaining their old lands, that when Prince Charles went to Spain, they sent two of their fryers into England, to take possession both of the Charter house, and Sheine, (Richmond?)" Stanley joined the order about this time.

and that little money which he had; where I have heard him often complain of the Jesuits, and say he was sorry to find them such knaves, and that if His Majesty of Great Britain would grant him pardon and leave to live the rest of his days in Lancashire, with beef, and bag pudding, (1) he should deem himself one of the happiest in the world, but this could never be obtained of his aforesaid Majesty, he having been so great and notorious a traitor." (2)

We are unable to fix the precise period of Stanley's death. In the following account of his funeral, (3) by Henry Gage, (4) it is stated he died at Ghent, 3rd March, anno ——. We may suppose his death took place 1628-9, and that Wadsworth was ignorant of it, when he printed his work, a few months afterwards.

From 1591 to 1626 the English Carthusians occupied a large house in Bleek Street, Mechlin, and removed to Nieuport, (Wadsworth's *Ostend?*) September 1626. (*Archæologia*, xiii. 257; *Phœnix Britannicus*, p. 328.)

(1) We suppose a Lancashire bag pudding was made as described in the old rhyme, when "good King Arthur" stole two pecks of barley meal to procure this luxury:

A bag pudding the King did make,
And stuffed it well with plums,
And in it put great lumps of fat,
As big as my two thumbs.

(2) Page 69.

(3) Randle Holmes's *Book of Funerals*, Harl. MSS. 2129, fol. 96.

(4) Of Henry Gage, Clarendon writes one of those charming descriptions, by which he has given to immortality more than one otherwise unknown person. Gage was a zealous Roman Catholic; his co-religionist, Aston, describes him "as the most Jesuited Papist alive." He fell at Cullum Bridge, near Abingdon, 11th January 1644. (Clarendon's *Rebellion*, Book viii., p. 8; Lodge's *Irish Peerage*, 1784, iii. 290.)

The order of the funerall of S^{r}
Will^{m} Stanley who died at Gaunt
3 March Año .....

After his death his body was transported privatly to Macklyn, where he desired to be buryed, he was presently interred the night of his arrivall at Macklyn, but not so privately, but half a dozen of the best men of quality of that towne accompanyed his corps, w^{ch} was carried by six Alpheres, & for that tyme, (according to the custome), all other ceremonies were forborne, till upon the 23 of March his fuñall was kept at Macklyn, upon w^{ch} day the whole body of the church where he was buried, (w^{ch} is our Ladies church), was hanged wth black bayes, with his Armes painted in many places thereof, w^{ch} was to remaine for the space of 30 dayes, every day masse of Requiem being said for him, the whole house, from whence his hearse was brought, was hung accordingly with his armes upon it: all the principall men of y^{e} towne were invited, & in ꝑticular the whole body of the supreame councell of Macklyn, with the Lord president, with all the Magistrates, & their Burrow Master.

From the house whence his hearse was carried marched, first 100 muskatiers trailing their muskets & rests after them upon the ground, after as many pike men traileing their pikes, with 8 drumes, covered all with black bayes, beating their martch dolefully.

Then followed 100 poore men, each of them carrying a torch wth S^{r} Willms Armes upon the same, to each of them was given 10 souzers.

After them followed the 4 begging orders.

After them 4 gentlemen sones one where of carried his sword.

Another his spurres
Another his gauntletts
Another his Helmett
} all w^{ch} were made fast to black velvet cushions.

Another gentleman his coate of Armes, w^{ch} was made of white

damaske edged about with white and blew fringe according to the colours of his Armes.

Then followed 4 gentlemens sones more, in mourning, with each of them a Targett in his hand, upon the two first were painted the Armes of Stanley & Aldersey, w^{ch} were his fathers & mothers.

Upon the two later, the Armes of Griffith & Bamvill, w^{ch} were his grandmother by the father's side, & grandmother by his mothers side, (1) all w^{ch} foure coates all gentle here are bound to shew to be the coates of noble & gentle families, before they can be reputed in the ranks of Gentlemen.

After them followed an horse of warre, armed, haveing a plume of feathers of S^{r} Wiłłms colours in his head.

then an Horse in moũring, covered all over wth black velvett.

Then followed one of S^{r} Wiłłms servants in mourning carrying a table of S^{r} Wiłłms Armes of all his quartering painted upon it.

Afterwards followed the hearse, carryed by 8 captaines cov̄ed with a large peice of fine black cloath, & a crose of red dammaske of 15 ells: the 4 corners of the cloth being held up by foure gentlemens sones in mourning.

then followed all the church men & singing boyes.

After followed the chiefe Mourner, w^{ch} was his nephew in a hood of black bayes, the traine of the bayes being five yards long; & he was led by the comãnder of Pituenburg, a Knight of the Teutonicke Order, a man of principall quallity.

After followed an other of his nephews a priest whose name is Stanley, (2) in a Chanons mourning, led by the deane of Macklyn.

(1) The Bamvile connection was not thus obtained. William de Stanley, in 1317, in right of his wife, the daughter and coheiress of Philip de Bamvile, obtained estates in Wirrall, and the forestership of the district.

(2) The chief mourner may have been a son of Mr. Poole, or Pole, Stanley's brother-in-law, who we have shown possibly lived abroad with him. But as he had only one brother, an ecclesiastic, a nephew of the

Then followed father Stanley y^e^ Jesuite (1) his brother, who should have bine the chiefe mourner if he had not bine a religious man, with him went S^r^ Wiłłms first Executor;
Afterwards followed the L. all the Englishe gentlemen
then followed the Lord president with all the councell
after them the Burrow maister with all y^e^ magistrates then neighbours & townes people.
The way betweene the house & church was strowed w^th^ straw as the custome is there.
the souldiers who marched first w^n^ they came to the church opened themselves & made a lane contynuing their posture of traylling their pikes & musketts & their drumes still beating dolefully: betwixt them the whole traine marched into the church, & when they were all passed the souldiers gave their first vollee of shott.
At the elevation of the Host, their second vollee.
& at the end of all their ceremonies, when the priest songe Requiescat in pace, their third vollee.
In the church was provided a 1000 loaves of bread of foure souzes a peece, for a 1000 poore people, every loafe haveing 3 sous in money stuck in it, & that at S^r^ Wiłłms charge.

name of Stanley is somewhat unintelligible. There is a letter in Tierney's Dodd, iii. 87, from Persons, which speaks of Stanley and his brothers: "Cujusmodi sunt D. Gulielmus Stanlæus, cum fratribus, cujus merita in rempublicam aliorum omnium merita, judicio omnium, excedunt. (12th April 1597.) This might mean John Stanley, and Poole; and perhaps the former, before he turned an ecclesiastic, like the elder Haydock, had been married.

(1) John Stanley is mentioned in Abbot's *Antilogia* as assisting Walpole and Cresswell, circ. 1594, in plots which were immediately betrayed to Elizabeth. (*Antilogia*, cap. 8, p. 124.) The name of "F. Stanley, brother of Sir William Stanley, governor of Marklin," (Mechlin,) occurs in "the list of Popish priests residing about London 1624." (*Phœnix Britannicus*, p. 438.)

High masse was solemlye songe, & after the Gospell, a fuñall sermon made by a Jesuite in French.

At the offertorie men went to offer, in the same order they went to church, his 2 nephewes offering first, each of them a peece of gold; ..... offering 6 sous a peece: & the neighbours, & others, offered but 3 sous a peece: this money was given to each man stucke in a waxe candle, by one deputed purposely for it, as the came to the Alter to offer.

There were in all 400 offirtories, all w^{ch} went to the profitt of the church, & all coming out of S^{r} Wiłłms purse.

When Masse & all ceremonies were ended in the church, wee marched home in the same Order to accompany the chiefe Mourner, leaveing onely the hearse with all the Armes, spurs, sword, Gauntlett, Helmett, & the like, to hang up in the church, over the tombe.

When they came to the gate of the house, S^{r} Wiłłms Executor went to the Lo. president, the councell & magistracie, & gave them many thanks for this last honour they had done S^{r} Wiłłm, & excused it to them, that being a Stranger in a strang towne he had not the meanes to feast them, (as the custom is), according to their quallities, when they had taken their coaches, then he went to them that carried the Hearse, & led them into the house, & tould them, that they being souldiers should not refuse to accept of such course intertainem^{t} as y^{e} place afforded: so they dyned altogather in the chamber, (frõ whence the hearse was carried), by wax candles, because the Rome was all darkned with Bayes. &^{c}:

Having thus endeavoured to trace the life of Sir William Stanley, we must next proceed to treat of Cardinal Allen, whose tract, in defence of the surrender of Deventer, we now print.

A family of Allen possessed Buckenhall in Staffordshire,

temp. Edw. 1 ; they afterwards removed to Brook house in the same county. These Allens entered in the Visitations, and had two remarkable names in their pedigree, a priest who founded the school at Uttoxeter, and Thomas Allen the Protestant cotemporary of the Cardinal, a friend to Camden and Selden, and one of the most learned men of his age. The Buckenhall descent is otherwise a mere record of undistinguished generations,

Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.

It is said that a branch of these Allens appeared in Lancashire in the person of George, the Cardinal's grandfather, (1) who is described as of Brook house, Staffordshire, and as receiving from a kinsman, the Abbot of Dieulacres near Leek, a beneficial lease of the Grange at Rossall, where this George established himself. The reversion of this lease the Fleetwoods bought of Henry the Eighth. John Allen, the son of

(1) The pedigree of the Allens of Rossall is mainly taken from Anthony Wood ; and although the Cardinal's family were connected with that at Brook house, as indeed the intimacy between himself, and Nicholas Fitzherbert of Norbury, furnishes some proof, yet the matter is subject to the following difficulties : 1st. Wood states that the Cardinal's arms were wholly different to those borne by his namesakes in Staffordshire. We may remark, that we are not aware that the Lancashire Allens ever entered at a Visitation. 2nd. No George occurs, to answer to the head of the Rossall house, in the Staffordshire pedigrees. (*Harl. MSS.* 1173, fol. 102, and 6128, fol. 17.) 3rd. In both of these Visitations, there is an entry of Randulphus Allen, (temp. Ric. 3, and Hen. 7,) marrying Elizabeth, daughter of John Allen of Rossall, which makes the family earlier in Lancashire than was supposed. The only John of the Cardinal's progenitors is his father ; for whom this John, at the latest temp. Hen 7, will not answer.

George, married Jane Lister of Craven, (1) and had six children. Richard the eldest died early, leaving a widow and three daughters, who, by adhering to the Cardinal, experienced much adversity. (2) William, the second son and future Cardinal, was born 1532. (3) Gabriel, the next brother, died at Rome 1597, aged 58. He lived at Rheims 1579, and is

(1) The alliances alone are made by Fitzherbert, the source of the claim, to being of a gentleman's family, by the Allens. "Patrem habuit (the Cardinal) Joannem Alanum, et suæ familiæ honestate, et sanguinis, affinitatisq. cum primariis illius provinciæ familiis conjunctione nobilem. Matrem vero Joannam Listeram Eboracensis regione oriundam, ingentis virtutis fœminam, et quæ multas, et claras, cognationes, in Alanam gentem traduxit.

(2) In the *Responsio ad edictum Reginæ Angliæ*, by Persons, he writes: "Nonne enim universis Anglis satis cognita est Alani familia in provincia clarissima Angliæ Lancastrensi? Nonne frater ejus vir optimus, et hospitalis, paucissimis hinc annis honorifice ibi vixit, et sanctissimé mortuus est? Nonne viduam ejus Elizabætham fœminam nobilem, locupletem, prudentem, piissimam, indignis modis exagitarunt, postea hæretici, et bonis omnibus eversam, ac spoliatam, (quæ erant amplissima,) cum tribus filiabus virginibus, in exilium ejecerunt, in quo et modo sanctissime degunt, et egentissimæ ex opulentissimis hæreticorum scelere repenté factæ, pro Christi tamen amore letissimé vivunt? Nonne Suthwartus, (Southworth,) Heschetus, aliique nobiles, ac primarii, totius, provinciæ viri, ex Alanorum quoque cognatione esse cognoscuntur. Nonne ista certa, nota, et indubitata sunt? (Page 142.) Persons then prefers Allen's extraction to that of Cecil, Raleigh, or Bacon; and contemptuously alludes to the "Bolenorum genus."

(3) Eodem ipso anno in Lancastrensi provincia Angliæ nobilissima, Gulielmus Alanus, veluti desponsus jam a Deo, ac destinatus, tum antiquæ religionis defensor, tum novarum opinionum oppugnator acerrimus, ejusdem benignitate propitia, et evidenti, in lucem editus est. Fitzherbert thus pauses on 1532, because it was the natal year of Allen, and the date of the completion of the defection of Henry the Eighth from Rome.

the "Cousin Gabriel" of Richard Haydock's letter. (1) The monument at Rome to Gabriel, was erected, as the epitaph shows, (2) by Thomas Allen his nephew, whence we infer that the fourth son, George, married, and had descendants. There were two sisters, Mary, and the wife of Thomas Hesketh, whose son was of the Cardinal's household.

William Allen (3) had his first schooling in Lancashire, (4) and proceeded to Oriel 1547. His tutor was "Morgan the sophister," one of the most eminent members of the University. These two were united in their zeal for Roman Catholicism, and their friendship only terminated with Morgan's death at Louvain 1577. Allen's progress is dwelt upon by his secretary with justifiable pride. We cannot reconcile the complaints of the abasement of the Universities, made by Ascham, Lever, and others, with the production of so accomplished a scholar as Allen, or with the

(1) Dodd, ii. 22. (2) *Gent's Magazine*, 93, i. 218.

(3) The events of Allen's life are scattered through the works of all historians of the period in which he lived. Of modern biographies, Wood's, that in the *Biographia Brit.*, and Dodd's, are the best. The secretary of the Cardinal, Nicolas Fitzherbert, has treated of his master with the affection the loyal servant bestowed on Bayard, and Sir Herbert Taylor on the Duke of York. The larger account of Allen, which Fitzherbert promises, may still be in existence. Rossi, who died 1647, and was in Cardinal Peretti's household, has, under the name of Erythræus, also given a brief life of Allen.

(4) Fitzherbert says: "Sub publico quodam illius provinciæ magister." We believe there were only three public schools then in the county: Farnworth, founded 1507; Manchester, 1515; Warrington, 1526. The Manchester school was the most important; and Wood styles Pendleton (1546) its "famous schoolmaster."

advantages John ab Ulmis so glowingly describes. (1) In 1550, Allen became fellow of Oriel; and Dr. Whitaker says: "He must at this time, at least, have professed himself of the reformed religion." (2) Allen was then eighteen, and not a clergyman, and, notwithstanding the care of Henry the Eighth in exacting the oath of supremacy, might, we think, have escaped taking it, even during his reign. Under Edward's government, there is less evidence of strictness, and laws enforcing uniformity, with the exception of that directing the use of the Common Prayer Book, were only intended, and the religious disputations, by which Allen so greatly improved himself, were invited at Oxford; thus Morgan, in 1549, was a disputant, before Peter Martyr, in favor of the Papal religion. We know that, through life, Allen's convictions would prevent his taking the oath of supremacy; he was the object of the bitterest enmity, and of the most unscrupulous attacks in his own day, but that he ever sided with the Protestants is no where imputed to him, and yet the opposite party were not inattentive to the college life of those inimical to them, as Persons experienced: to admit therefore such a charge, we must require positive evidence, and not a conjecture made upwards of two centuries after the supposed occurrence. (3) On Mary's accession, Allen proceeded M.A. and entered the priesthood 1554; in 1556

(1) *Letters, English Reformation*, Parker Society, p. 379.

(2) *Richmondshire*, i. 444.

(3) Fitzherbert says of his patron, at the close of Edward's reign: "A pravarum opinionum, morumque corruptela, adhuc ferme intactam."

he became principal of St. Mary's Hall, (1) and in that, and the following, year, was proctor. We are not sufficiently informed of Allen's career at Oxford; and if it is matter of surprise that in 1550 he could retain a fellowship at Oriel, the fact that he remained under Elizabeth's government at the University, until 1561, is still more remarkable. (2) In the latter part of this year he retired to Louvain, and henceforth devoted himself to the service of the Roman Catholic religion. His occupation there was assisting in refuting the publications of the English Protestant divines, but as the books, thus written in the Netherlands, were prohibited in England, they only were known amongst those they were meant to serve, by the extracts given in rejoinders. At this time Allen had Christopher Blount for his pupil, and is thus connected with the stormy life, and violent death, of that restless friend of Essex.

The first step taken by Allen, thus restricted in labouring to restore the Papal religion to England, seems so naturally

(1) Sir Christopher Hatton was then an under graduate at St. Mary's Hall. In the life of "Alan," (*Biog. Brit.*) mention is made of the friendship between Allen, and Hatton, and the Chancellor is thereby said to be "in credit, and special favor, at Rome." This may be so, for Hatton had strong Roman Catholic tendencies, and his life is otherwise an enigma; but the authority adduced, Leycester's *Commonwealth*, only affirms that the imputation was fastened on Hatton, by Leycester, to injure the Chancellor, (p. 149,) and nothing is said of Allen.

(2) The epitaph on Allen at Rome states that he had been an exile, in November 1594, for thirty-three years. Whitaker affirms that he held the fellowship at Oriel until 1565. Perhaps the vacancy had not been previously filled up, which we know was then a matter of difficulty; but Elizabeth allowed no refugee to draw an income from England, and her first real difference with Philip was on that subject.

to arise out of his convictions, that, but for Fitzherbert's testimony, we should not have assigned it to an involuntary motive. He however asserts, that Allen's visit to Lancashire, in 1562, (1) was from ill health. The date is that of the closing of the Council of Trent, where the Papal religion had met with such success as no longer to require those attempts at the fusion of the two faiths, which had been entertained at the earlier sittings; and supported by the Jesuits, and the Inquisition, and by a powerful accession of learning, and morals, the Pope's followers everywhere acted with confidence. The secret visit of Allen to his native county, though a most important passage in its history, is almost unknown. The Roman Catholic interest thence owes its establishment in a vigor, which for centuries enabled it to affect the destinies of Lancashire.

Lancashire had for Sheriff, in 1562, Sir John Southworth, (2) who was also returned for its member in 1563,

(1) The *Biog. Brit.* sets down Allen's return to Lancashire as occurring 1565, and refers to Fitzherbert, who however gives no date; but we gather from that writer, and it is so stated by others, that the date was 1562. There is no authority for 1565; and the lapse of six years, in each of which we account for Allen, previously to the founding of the seminaries 1568, cannot be reconciled to that date.

(2) This person was the leader, in the county, of the church, he professed. The notices of him in Strype are curious. (*Parker's Life*, p. 264; *Grindal's Life*, p. 138; also, in Peck's *Desid. Cur.* i. 106, 152, *Egerton Papers*, p. 163.) Bath, from 1600 to 1605, is shown to have been the focus of Papal intrigue, (*Archæologia*, xxix. 85;) and here, in 1568 and 1569, Southworth carried on his designs against Elizabeth. Thomas Churchyard informed against him; and, resisting the appeals of Parker, Grindal, and Nowel, and setting the Bishop of Chester at defiance, the Knight passed the evening of his life in gaols.

and we find no other return until 1571. The Lord Lieutenant was the Earl of Derby, the magnificent pupil of Wolsey, and yet, not altogether a consistent Roman Catholic. He had assisted in the martyrdom of Marsh,(1) and in 1559 was a commissioner for advancing the Reformation;(2) he was relied upon by Mary, (Queen of Scots;) confided in by Norfolk; invited by the two Earls to join in the rising of the North, whom he denounced, and yet allowed his younger sons to take part in the rebellion.(3) In 1562, Elizabeth affected to trust this dangerous peer; but a few years later, and his power was submitted to that of Huntington. Of Protestantism in Lancashire, Pilkington sent Parker a melancholy account(4) in 1564; when Downham, Bishop of Chester, seemed engrossed with collecting those dues on which, with the revenues of a stall at Westminster, he barely subsisted,(5) and when the profession of the reformed faith in many of the higher orders had a suspicious connexion with the enjoyment of church property,(6) whilst the sincere and consistent Protestants were almost confined to

(1) Fox, iii. 227. (2) Dodd, ii. 5.

(3) Haynes, pp. 446, 549, 564. (4) Strype's *Parker*, p. 181.

(5) Strype's *Annals*, i. 552; Collier, vi. 355.

(6) Many returned to the Papal faith. Dodd says of Richard Huddlestone: "He exercised his function chiefly in Lancashire, and Yorkshire, where he brought several considerable families back to the religion of their ancestors, namely the Prestons, Andertons, Downes, Traffords, and Sherburns, in Lancashire." Ashton, Fleetwood, Holcroft, Holt of Stubley, &c., had church lands. On Butler, Holland, Hopwood, and other early Protestants, we make no imputation, but they were a great minority of their class, as to the faith they supported; in West Derby, Butler of Bewsey, temp. Eliz., was the sole esquire being a Protestant.

the followers of Bradford, and Marsh, in the Salford hundred. No reformed ministers had been appointed to most of the livings, and the priests had either fled, or secretly discharged their duties. In this state of things, Fitzherbert thus describes the motives, and occurrences, of Allen's visit: (1) "In those days, a certain noble English youth, (Blount,) who had been trusted to Alan's care at Louvain, had an atrophy, his body gradually growing thinner. As Alan, assiduous in doing his duty, remained with his pupil, he was also in a short time entirely infected with the same wasting away, unnoticed at the commencement, for he was a person of vigor and of the best habit of body, and yet the disease was not slight, as presently appeared. For the poison was so attracted to the marrow, and so infused into the viscera, that besides infecting Alan with a disease which no course of time would cure, it so set at defiance all medicine, that it threatened to bring him to speedy death, unless some escape, or a longer delay, might, by chance, be obtained from the goodness of his own native climate and soil. Therefore Alan, following the advice of his physicians, and returning into England, lay hid amongst his own family, undiscovered indeed, but not idle, until the force of the disease passing away, and greatly diminishing, he found that he was in better health, and more able to bear exertion. Moreover, since a pernicious opinion had crept into the minds of certain Catholics, (as men are very ready to be-

(7) Nicolai Fitzherberti *De antiquitate, et continuatione, Catholicæ Religionis in Anglia, et De Alani Cardinalis vita, libellus.* (Romæ, 1608, p. 60.)

lieve, and to embrace, those things which they greatly desire, and seem to be to their own advantage,) by which they persuaded themselves, in their extreme terror, and in their imminent danger of losing goods and life, it was permitted them to attend the heretical churches and meetings without committing any great crime, or separating themselves from the Catholic Church. But Alan, on the contrary, not only to those resorting to him at his own dwelling, but afterwards, when by his convalescence he was permitted to leave home, went, even vehemently, to exhort at various meetings, and to enforce with many arguments, that so great was the atrocity of this crime, that whosoever was contaminated by it, on no account, could remain in the Roman Catholic communion; wherefore, by the great number thus prevented, in Lancashire and its confines, from assembling with the heretics, and from adopting this fatal error of occasional conformity, so much did Alan there incur the hatred of the bad, that he was compelled, presently, to emigrate to a distant province. Nor did he therefore abandon his undertaking, for he both kept to their duty the family in which he resided, and often visited Oxford, which was near, and there soon converted not a few."

Occasional conformity was the main evil against which Allen contended, and, "as his efforts gave some disturbance to several Catholics, who were unwilling to lay aside their former practice, so it excited the Protestants so much," (1) that he "was forced by the magistrates to leave that harbour, Lancashire." (2) The supplying a regularly ordained

(1) Dodd, ii. 45. (2) Wood.

priesthood, the providing for the education of the Roman Catholic youth, the organizing the gathering of contributions for the exiles, (we apprehend Mrs. Allen, Richard's widow, first undertook this hazardous duty, and that it afterwards devolved on Vivian Haydock,) (1) as well as the enforcement of an exclusive attendance on the services of the Papal Church, were all cared for by William Allen, before his flight. The eloquent tract which he has left us on these subjects, well explains his success in Lancashire. (2)

In this book, the author alludes modestly to the dangers which he and others had incurred in England, as, "our sundrie dutiful attempts, and hazards of our persons." (3) His next resting-place was the neighbourhood of Oxford, where he must have endeavoured to prevail on his old associates to join the seminaries he intended founding. In 1564 we find him concealed in the house of the Duke of Norfolk, where, a few years before, Fox the martyrologist had been sheltered. No wonder that, professing Protestantism, and yet harbouring Gregory Martin, and William Allen, the Duke was a puzzle to Mary Queen of Scots, and to the

(1) Haydock of Cottom, near Preston. (Dodd, ii. 69.) Richard Haydock, his son, was Allen's domestic chaplain; and George, another son, was executed February 15, 1584, "on account of his function." Vivian, the father, began as procurator, in England, 1581.

(2) "Apologie, and true declaration, of the institution, and endeavours, of the two English Colleges," &c. Mounts in Henault, 1581.

(3) Erythræus affirms that Allen transformed himself as Campion, Heath, &c., and above all Persons afterwards did, to baffle pursuit: "Mutata veste ac nomine, veluti ex occulto, et de insidiis, in Angliam venit." He adds Fitzherbert's miraculous story of Allen's face being changed so that his pursuer did not know him again.

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world. His declaration as to his fidelity to the reformed faith, both on the trial and on the scaffold, only show that he felt his own inconsistency. The first mode of escape offered Allen he rejected, and, after steadily accomplishing his purposes, he finally landed in 1565 in the Netherlands, never more to revisit England.

The consequences of Allen's visit were soon apparent. In 1567, "Religion in Lancashire, and the parts thereabouts, went backwards, Papists, about this time, showing themselves to be numerous; mass commonly said; priests harboured; the Book of Common Prayer, and the church established by law, laid aside; many churches shut up, and cures unsupplied, unless with such Popish priests as had been ejected." (1) Then came that letter, to Downham, Bishop of Chester, written in Eliza-

(1) Strype's *Annals*, i. 544. We suspect Allen had instilled into the minds of his neighbours that belief in the Pope's supremacy, which he always maintained. "The princes of the earth have poure to binde too, but no further than the body; but this other," (saith S. Chrysostom, speaking of the power assigned to the apostles and priests,) "reacheth to the soule itself, and practised here in the world benethe, which is a straunge case, hath force, and effect, in heaven above. The poure of all potentates, under the Majesty of the blessed Trinity in Heaven, and Earthe, is extreme basenesse compared to this." (*On Purgatory*, 1565, p. 40.) In 1568, Sanders wrote to Sir W^m^ Molyneux, and Sir W^m^ Norris, warning them against allowing the Queen's supremacy, and they followed the advice given. (Strype's *Annals*.) As there was no article of faith which could make Allen a worse subject to Elizabeth than this belief in the deposing power, without the possibility of a compensating conviction; and as expressions of loyalty, and of limiting the Pope's power to spiritual matters, with such an opinion of his ascendancy, were unintelligible; so no portion

beth's unmistakeable style, which refers, in no measured terms of reproof, to "the credible reports of disorders, and contempts," in his diocese. (1) "Now therefore," she continues, "considering the place you hold, to be the principal minister of these causes, and such disorders found within your diocese, as we hear not of the like in any other parts, we will, and charge you, to have other regard to your office." Pilkington, and Nowell, arrived in their native county, to stay the progress of their opponents; Parker

of his creed was so profoundly, and unalterably, fixed as this most obnoxious one, in the mind of the Cardinal, from his youth upwards. The tract just quoted proves he so thought before he became the associate of Persons. The allusion to Allen's opinions on this subject in Campion's process, proceeds rather from his allowing or licensing Bristowe's book, than from his own writing. "After all this, the Sovereign authority of our common Pastor in Religion, for the saving of souls, do duely discharge us from subjection, and the Prince offended from his Dominion." (Bristowe, *Fortieth Motive.*) Hence it was demanded of Campion, August 1st, 1581, Whether he acknowledged this, and similar passages, published by Sanders, Bristowe, and Allen? (*Phœnix Brit.* p. 487.) To enter fully into Allen's proceedings, the opinions to which he affixed his imprimatur, and which are contained in numerous tracts, require examination.

We are indebted to our excellent president, Mr. Crossley, for the loan of Allen's book *On Purgatory.* It is not in the British Museum, nor are Persons's *Manifestation*, and Watson's *Quodlibets*, in that Institution; which, however rich in Nineveh marbles, is very defective in books required by the student of English history. The tract on Purgatory first informed the world of Allen's marvellous power of writing. We suppose it was written in England, after he left Lancashire, but no doubt its substance had often been communicated in that county. Why does Fitzherbert call this book an answer to Jewel?

(1) Strype's *Annals*, i. 544; also printed in Baines's *Lancashire.*

assisted; the Puritans, encouraged, waxed powerful; and two furious sects divided the province, until Herle, not himself perfectly orthodox, stated, in taking a benefice in Lancashire, that he was come to be crucified between two thieves, the blaspheming Papist, and the railing Puritan: and long before he thus profanely wrote, Campion, in his greatest need, had been sheltered from house to house in Lancashire; at Mrs. Allen's, (1) (Richard's widow;) at Thomas Southworth's, (Sir John's son;) Bartholomew Hesketh's of Aughton, (2) (Sir John Southworth's son-in-law;) Richard Hoghton's of the Park, (a natural son of Sir Richard Hoghton of Hoghton Tower;) Talbot's; Westby's;

(1) It was the year 1583, when Mrs. Allen, and her three daughters, were forced to leave Rossall, of which Edmund Fleetwood took possession. The charge against her was, probably, that she was acting as "procurator" for her brother-in-law. "Five hundred pounds was seized in the hands of a neighbour, and confiscated, upon a pretence that it was designed to be sent over to Rheims, for the use of Dr. William Allen. There was, indeed, a kind of trial at Manchester; but the original writings being carried off when Rossall was plundered, they were obliged not only to desist, but to leave the kingdom, for fear of further persecution." (Dodd, ii. 151.) They went to Rheims, where the Guises kept them, (*ibid.*) and thence to Namur.

(2) The Hesketh were stout partizans of the Pope, and Philip. Sir Thomas Hesketh was more than suspected, (Peck, i. 150;) his nephew, Roger Ashton, led Stanley astray; Bartholomew Hesketh of Aughton harboured Campion, (Baines, i. 537;) his wife was apprehended, and committed as a "busy recusant," 1584, (Peck, i. 149;) Richard Hesketh tried to win Lord Strange to the Spanish plots; Thomas Hesketh married Allen's sister, and his son lived with the Cardinal; William Hesketh, gent. and Elizabeth Hesketh, widow, are set down as obstinate Roman Catholics, (Baines, i. 544, 545.)

and Rigmaiden's: (1) and on the other side, Martin Mar, prelate, sought, less successfully than Campion, a hiding-place in this county. The more immediate consequences of Allen's visit is shown, first, in the anxiety which Lancashire caused the government, even after the rising of the North was suppressed; (2) and, second, in the almost universal support which was given to the seminary system by the Roman Catholics in this district. (3)

Allen resided for two years at Mechlin, being a Divinity reader at a monastery, and occasionally visiting Louvain. In 1567, he went with his old tutor Morgan, (or Morgan Phillips,) and Dr. Vendeville, to Rome, and on the way announced his scheme of instituting seminaries, which was carried into execution at Douay the year following. Regarding Allen's own views as to the Pope's supremacy, and the designs on England of the Pope, and Philip the Second, who supported the seminaries, notwithstanding Allen's admirable "*Apology*," and the number of correct motives which justified their formation, they must be regarded, from the beginning, as proper objects of distrust, and suspicion, to Elizabeth. In 1571, Allen received a stipend of two hundred crowns, as Royal Professor of Divinity, and was made Canon of Cambray, and thus became independent;

(1) Peck's *Desid. Cur.* i. 108.

(2) Fénélon, iii. 313, 330, 368, 389 to 391, 452, 458; iv. 381; v. 313.

(3) Besides the twenty Lancashire families, enumerated (Peck's *Desid. Cur.* i. 100) as having (December 1580,) sons educating abroad, we find Hoghton, Hesketh, Allen, Ashton, Holt, Haydocks, Worthingtons, &c. either in Allen's house, or seminaries.

the money however being the pay of Philip. In 1571, Allen was made Doctor of Divinity, and, in 1575, again went to Rome to procure assistance for his now important college. He returned to Douay July 30, 1576.

In the proceedings incident to the violent death in the Tower of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Sanders is said to have written, as early as 1577, to Allen, "That the state of Christendome stood upon the stout assayling of England;" and "in a letter sent to the same Allen from Rome, touching audience given by the Pope to the ambassadors of certain forraine Princes, betwene the Pope, and whom, a league was agreed on against the Queene's Majesty, there were inclosed certain articles, containing in effect, that the Realme should be invaded with 20,000 men, at the charge of the said Pope, and Princes; that her Majestie should be deposed, and some English Catholique elected King." (1) Thus early did Allen begin to earn the wages of Spain, and the Pope, by becoming the confidante of those who sought to invade his native land.

On March 20, 1578, the college at Douay was obliged to seek new patrons, and to remove from that town, (2) Re-

(1) We quote from a tract of which the title is wanting, but which is cotemporary, and contains an account of the proceedings incident to Lord Northumberland's imputed suicide.

(2) Cardinal Guise's letter inviting Allen to Rheims, April 25, 1578, will be found in Tierney's Dodd, ii. Appendix, No. 55. It is remarkable, that Allen's college was unpopular at Douay, as it appears, from the number of Elizabeth's spies, or Hugonots, by which it was watched. In the testimonial of the Magistrates, and the University, on the departure for Rheims, the reasons of the Exodus are given, "Ains pour la diversité du

quesenes directing the charge, so thoroughly had Elizabeth triumphed over Philip.

In 1579, the old English foundation at Rome was enlarged into a college, and in August of that year Allen made his third visit to the Eternal City, (1) to reconcile the differences amongst the students there, returning April 1580. The disunion in the Anglo-Roman College represented the difference which pervaded the entire Roman Church. The parties in this institution were styled English, and Welch: at the head of the latter was Lewis Owen, or Owen Lewis, Bishop of Casano, an elève of Borromeo's, and consequently of that party in the church which sought its restoration by an increased devotion, and morality. The opposing persons were the Jesuits, or as our English historians designate them, the Spanish party; and on this, though not of the order, Allen leaned. The disputes between these two parties were incessant, and affected the usefulness, and respectability, of the English Roman Ca-

temps, et plus grand appaisement du peuple de la dita ville." (Dodd, ut sup.) For awhile, the Guises took the part against England, and in favour of their relative, Mary of Scots, which Philip had undertaken, according to his promise at the close of the Council of Trent, and according to the fanaticism and ambition which guided him through life.

(1) The second chapter of Allen's "*Apologie*" is an explanation of "our resorting sometimes to the citie and court of Rome;" it opens by a denunciation of the spies by whom he is surrounded: "Certain yong felowes, fugitives from their maisters, on this side, being deprehended in divers cosinages, counterfayting of letters, and plaine theftes, joyning to them others of il disposition, that sometimes thrust themselves into such companies living together, as we do, to take and give notice of men's doing,

tholics, from Rome to Wisbeach; (1) for we include in this division the long feud between the Jesuits, and the secular clergy, in England, so sharply set forth in the writings of the bitter Persons, and the ill-fated Watson. The expressions of endearment, and the protestations of mutual friendship, with which Allen, and Lewis, addressed each other, will create a smile in those who have examined their lives. (2)

The visit to Rome in 1597, (3) brought Allen, and Per-

and demeanour, whom men call commonly spies, or intelligencers, — we by the Scripture word name them, false brethren, — have done very ill offices late." Anthony Mundy, George Eliot, Pooley, Gifford, Greatley, Cradock, Norton, Slade, Osborne, and all the secret intelligencers of Burleigh, and Walsingham, have this apology to posterity, that they protected Elizabeth from a perfectly unscrupulous party, and saved her from the assassination by which almost every distinguished person in her age concluded their lives. No doubt Allen was closely watched, his letters copied, and his minutest actions reported to that Queen, who is said to have immediately heard whispers breathed even in the Vatican, or the Escurial.

(1) Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i. 225. (2) Dodd, ii. 240.

(3) Elizabeth had obtained the articles of a confederation between her enemies for the invasion of England, entered into at Rome at this time, and her spies charged Allen with being assistant to the plot. To this Allen replies, (*Apologie, &c.* c. 2:) "Therefore, touching our late repairing to the citie of Rome, this yere past, wherewith we are charged, the principal of that viage doth protest that he neither joyned with rebell, nor traitor, nor any one, or other, against the Queene, or Realme, or traiterously sought, or practised, to irritate any Prince or Potentate to hostilitie against the same. Further, invocating upon his soul, that he never knew, saw, nor heard, during his abode in the Court there, of any such writings as are mẽtioned in the said Proclamation of Julie, continuing certaine articles of cõfederation of the Pope, King of Spaine, and other Princes, for the invasion of the Realme: nor ever afterward gave counsel to publish any such thing,

sons, together apparently, for the first time. They both, but for very different motives, and after lives of an opposite character, entertained the most devoted attachment to Roman Catholicism. Persons was altogether a worthless person, (1) expelled Baliol for dishonesty "of a daring and

though he were at Rome at the day of the date that some of these copies, which afterward he saw when they were common to al the world. Being most assured that no English Catholike would, or could, be the author thereof, nor, as it may be thought, any other of those Princes, or their Ministers, that are pretended to be of the foresaid league." In the sixth chapter, "Of Priests, and Jesuits, and for what cause they be sent to England," Allen's difficulties thickening, (these were the Pope's bull, of excommunication and deposition, against the Queen, and his withdrawal of Ireland from its allegiance, both undeniable,) he pleads ignorance: "Imagine ye the Italian government, and specially the Papacie, to be so discretely managed that every poore priest, or scholer, in the citie knoweth the Pope's secrets? No, no." We accept the plea, and admit, that it is not shown that in 1579 Allen was invited to take part in the conspiracy against Elizabeth, or had other objects than those relating to his colleges, as he affirms.

(1) Tierney's Dodd, iii. No. 34; note. The bitterness, and unscrupulous nature of Persons's attacks on the English secular clergy is stated. The versatility of his sentiments and tone towards his adversaries is warmly denounced. Would that Allen had been free from this fault! We have no right however to impute this failing exclusively to the Roman Catholics: it was a crime of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the lingering influence of sophistry, or the universally adopted precepts of Machiavelli: it brought Charles to the scaffold, and disfigured our own pious and excellent countryman, the great Earl of Derby. Tierney charges Persons with knowingly writing an untruth; Camden or Fuller never said a worse thing of him; and the secular clergy of England insisted on his being removed from having any control over them. Steinmetz says that Persons's reputation, for the dexterity he eluded the pursuit of the English government, still remains in Jesuit colleges, as a species of Dr. Faustus, or of Harlequin.

undertaking spirit, and of a nature turbulent and seditious." (1) Allen was of irreproachable character, full of learning and taste, gentle in his manners, and with the vis superba formæ. The Spanish party took "Allen for its nominal, Persons for its effective, head." (2) It was a disastrous union for Allen, although it procured him the Cardinalate.

In 1579, Allen was made Rector of the College at Rome, by Persons's recommendation, (3) and the mission to England of the latter, with Campion, was then resolved upon: it is needless to add, that from the powers and instructions of that mission, politics were expressly excluded; and this, with the mitigation, or suspension, by Gregory the Thirteenth, of the Bull of Pius the Fifth, tend to explain the anomalous nature of the sentiments in Allen's "*Apology*," when compared with his subsequent writings. In June, 1580, the two missionaries landed; (4) and Campion says he was mistaken by the Mayor of Dover for Allen, so widely at this time was the fame of the future Cardinal spread. In 1581, Allen, in aid of the mission he had in fact instituted, published "*The Apologie*," (5) a book which is truly described by an old writer as "a princely, grave, and flourishing piece of natural, and exquisite, English."

(1) Fuller's *Church History*, B. ix. c. 16.

(2) Lingard, viii. 404. (3) *Biog. Brit.*, quoting More.

(4) Fuller's *Church History*, B. ix. c. 16.

(5) "An apologie, and true declaration, of the institution, and endeavours, of the two English Colleges; the one in Rome, the other now resident in Rhemes, &c. Printed at Mounts in Henault, 1581."

We take this to be the greatest of Allen's productions, it was written before he had resigned himself to Persons's influence; and the object in view, the recovery of England to a faith the author sincerely entertained, was a laudable one. But compared with his subsequent works, we will not conceal the pain which the perusal of the "*Apology*" gives us.

The preaching Roman Catholicism in this island, by Persons, and Campion, had been determined upon, with Allen's sanction, at Rome in 1579; and the "*Apologie*" was put forth during, and in furtherance of, that enterprize 1581. In his reply to Burleigh's "*Execution of Justice*, a true and modest defence of the English Catholics against a libel, &c., Ingoldstadt 1584," Allen refers to the circumstances under which the "*Apologie*" was written: "They knew they could not profitablie succeed in their spiritual worke of confessing, converting, and reconciling, the subjects to the holie church, except they might, by apostolique warrant, resolve them for their lawful obedience to the Queen." Gregory the Thirteenth thus proceeded to reconcile the "Regnans in Excelsis" bull of Pius the Fifth, deposing Elizabeth 1569–70, with the requirements of the English Roman Catholics, now deeply sensible of the blessings of Elizabeth's temporal rule: Petatur a summo Domino nostro, explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum contra Elizabetham, et ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget illam, et hæreticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget, rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica ejusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit; and this strange and dishonest request the Pope conceded to Persons, and Campion, 14 April 1580.

It is commonly called a mitigation of Pius's bull; and thus temporarily warranted, Allen began with "moderation, and sweetness, to temporize," and "to see whether God might not move the heart of Her Majesty wholie lying in his hand, to enter into some good conditions for her re-uniting to the communion of the Christian world." (*Answer to Burleigh.*) This suspension of her deposition, and excommunication, and the cause of Allen's "moderation, and sweetness," were perfectly known to Elizabeth, and Burleigh, in 1581, as the book of the latter shows, (Somer's *Tracts*, vol. i.) although they had not the means, like ourselves, of comparing, by means of subsequent publications, all that was in Allen's mind, when he put forth his "patte de velours" in the shape of the "*Apologie.*" In that book he repeatedly admits Elizabeth's right to the throne. He trusts, "Our Lord may turn the Q. Majestie's, and her honourable counsels, cares towards her owne Catholike subjects." "We have hope to serve Her Highness, and our beloved Countrie, when it shall please Christ to give them the mind, to require, or admit the same." He speaks "of old Christian Kings, Her Highness most noble progenitors." "We would not in any wise oppose ourselves to publike authority, or give occasion of further offence." "We dare not presume to direct our defence to Her Majesty or Councel." "The honour and respect of your Princely state move us in all loyal humility to warne your Majesty." "We are not acquainted with any conspiracie against our Prince, and Countrie;" and he alludes to "the Queene, our Soveraines, hart." (1) Now, how is this to

(1) Two admissions in the first *Apology* require notice. The first is an acknowledgment of the success of Elizabeth's government; the second is a

be reconciled with the line taken by Allen after the failure of Persons's undertaking? We will not borrow from what are considered the more violent writings, but cite passages from the Letter on the surrender of Deventer: "All actes of justice within the realme, done by the Quenes authoritie ever since she was, by publike sentence of the Church, and Sea apostolike, (Bullæ Pii Quinti, an. 1569,) declared an Heretike, and an enimie of God's Church, and for the same, by name excōmunicated, and deposed, from al regal dignitée, as I say, ever sithence an. 1570, the publication thereof, al is voide, by the laws of God, and man, so likewise no warre can be lawfully denounced, or waged by her." "Where, for defection from the faith, or other enormities not tolerable, the sentence of Excommunication, and Deposition, is also adjoyned, there can neither be lawfull warres, nor any dutie of service in the same allowable." "For Heresie maketh a man, by al Christian lawes infamous, and voideth

statement that the Council of Trent was not a general one. "Acknowledging that Her Majestie's reign, and their regiment, had been most glorious, and renowned for the world abrode, and most secure, and happie, to the subjects at home, if it had not been contaminated by the fatal calamities of alteration in Religion." The Queen's assumed supremacy, he says, "takes away al convenient means of gathering, holding, or executing, any general Councels, and their decrees, as appeared by refusing to come to the late Council of Trent, notwithstanding the Pope's messages, and letters." There is another inconsistency in Allen repeatedly stating that it was only the Pope's power in spiritual matters that he acknowledged, and yet extending it to the deposition of Elizabeth, and to the depriving her of Ireland. In fact, Allen held, that all temporal power should be postponed to spiritual, and this being his sincere belief, he could only have been a good subject where the two powers were united, under Judges, Prophets, or Caliphs.

him of al degrees, and titles of honour." "To forsake them that forsake God is most lawful, honorable, and necessarie." Allen recommended the precedents of the desertion of Richard the Third, and the Lady Jane Grey, "notwithstanding what unjust bondes of oth, or promise, they had made, of feare, and pusilanimitie, to the said Usurper, and Hæretical Quene before. In all these, and the like, there is neither sinne nor scandal committed."

When Persons had escaped, and Campion had been executed, after brutal, and indefensible, torture, that Allen should have felt keenly what had occurred, was to be expected; but the violent change from the *Apology* for the seminaries 1581, to the language of his later tracts, called forth this remark: Edidit ille quidem duplicem Apologiam, alteram pro Seminariis, alteram pro Anglicis Catholicis inscriptam, in quarum altera Crocodili lachrymis agit, in altera lupi ferociam prodit. (1) The attempts of the Spanish party on Elizabeth's throne, were eagerly seconded by Persons and Allen, and a variety of publications bearing the name of Allen, to which, beyond all doubt, Persons was a large contributor, came forth yearly, from 1582 to 1589. The English secular clergy, and their followers, thus became the victims of a policy about which they were not consulted, and which they altogether eschewed. "If," says Watson, "the plots cast by the seditious had been known to us, we would all have denounced the Jesuitical, and Spanish, faction long agone." (2)

(1) *Antilogia;* the passage is long and severe; foll. 86, 87, 88, cap. 6.

(1) Watson's "*Important Considerations*," p. 28.

In the various works of Allen, besides asserting Elizabeth's deposition, he also denied her legitimacy, and entered upon subjects wholly removed from any spiritual matters. Laybourne, on the scaffold at Lancaster, referred to Allen's books as proving Elizabeth a usurper. Alfield died for only bringing these works into England. Parry said, they had taught him "that kings may be excommunicated, deprived, and violently handled."

On 5th March 1583, Westmoreland, and Dacre, write to Allen a letter of complete trust: "We have wholly resigned and committed ourselves to be ordered by you;" and in this they avow themselves pensioners of the Pope, and Spain. (1) On Mary of Scots' trial, October 12, 1586, Allen's letter was read, "wherein he called her his most dread sovereign Lady, and "it was shown he corresponded with her in cypher;" and Mary admits that Allen held her as his Queen. (2)

In August 1585 Allen went to the Spa for his health, but had hardly arrived when he was hurried off to Rome, a city which he never afterwards left, though Camden states otherwise. (3) The pretext for this abrupt movement, was the old

(1) They were then plotting in favour of James the First, who was for some time the favourite Roman Catholic pretender. Allen in the "*Apologie*" glowingly describes his merits.

(2) *Hardwick Papers*, i. 248.

(3) Lingard, viii. 334, n. 34, also 323. It is there said, that it was determined to make "a grant of the purple for Dr. Allen. Allen, ignorant of the project, was at the Spa; under some pretext he was drawn to Rome, and though he declined the dignity, as he had before declined it, under Gregory the Thirteenth, he was, against his will, created a Cardinal." Two years elapsed between Allen quitting Spa, and his elevation. Besides, it is

one, of disputes between the English, and the Welch, in the College, and the intrigues for the Cardinalate no doubt determined his stay. "Shortly after," says a cotemporary, (1) "Pope Sixtus determining to make a Cardinal of our nation, there grew for the same, great competency between Dr. Lewis, and Dr. Allen, each one for obtaining thereof applying his best friends to the uttermost." The affair was managed at Madrid, where Persons affirms Lewis's friends endeavoured to undermine, and to prevent the promotion of Allen. (2) A copy of Philip's letter asking the Pope for the appointment in favour of Allen, still exists at Simancas, (3) and Allen avowed he owed the hat to Persons: "Proximo enim sub cœlo Pater Personius fecit me Cardinalem. (4) Philip fulfilled honourably his part of the bargain, which in procuring Allen's Cardinalate, had been entered into. In 1589, when the armada had failed, and the Cardinal of England was only a record of defeated projects, he gave Allen the Archbishopric of Mechlin, and preferment, of the value of £4000 per annum. It will be observed the letter, exculpatory of the Deventer affair, was written about four months before the Cardinalate was granted, and when Allen

evident the honor was diligently sought, and the usual Nolo Episcopari hardly performed.

(1) Sadler's *Papers*, Appendix, iii. 14.

(2) Lingard, viii. 404; Persons's *Briefe Apology*, pp. 5, 6, 31, 36.

(3) Lingard, viii. 323.

(4) *Biog. Brit.* Art. Persons, note P. Allen was made Cardinal, in the event of the success of the armada, to proceed to England as legate, "regulate the concerns of religion, as had been done by Cardinal Pole, and confer on the Conqueror the investiture of the Kingdom." (Lingard, ut sup.)

must have been aware of the favor to be expected from Sixtus, and Philip. Persons was at Rome at the time.

The reader, in order rightly to judge of the proceedings of Allen, in receiving the pay of the enemies of his country, and assisting in their plans to invade England, dethrone the Queen, and demoralize the army, should keep in view the estimate which, throughout life, he had formed of what he styled the superiority of spiritual, over temporal, power, but which, in fact, was a belief in the absorption of all power into that of the Church. "The treachery also of Sir William Stanley," says Watson, (1) "as it was greatly prejudicial to us, that were Catholics, at home, so was the defence of that disloyalty, (made by a worthy man, but by the persuasions, as we think, of Parsons,) greatly disliked of many both wise, and learned; and especially it was wondered at a while, (until the drift thereof appeared more manifestly in the year 1588,) that this said worthy person by the said lewd Jesuits, laid down this for a ground in justifying the said Standley, viz: that in all wars, which may happen for religion, every Catholic man is bound in conscience to employ his person, and forces, by the Pope's direction; viz. How far, when, and where, either at home, or abroad, he may, and must break, with his temporal Sovereign. These things we would not have touched, had they not been known in effect to this part of the world; and we thought our duties to show our own dislike of them, and to clear her Majesty, (so far as we may,) from such imputations of more than barbarous cruelty towards us, as the Jesuits in

(1) *Important Considerations*, p. 55.

their writings, have cast by heaps upon her, they themselves, (as we still think in our consciences, and before God,) having been from time the very cause of all our calamities, which any of us have endured in England since Her Majesty's reign." Persons, in reply, defends Stanley, but does not deny that he had a hand in Allen's letter in defence of the Deventer affair;(1) "and this was sufficient in our opinion to cleare this case, both for the actor himself, the vertuous Knight, as also the defender, our late good Cardinal, and F. Persons, the Counsellor, as these men say." The term "worthy man," applied to the Cardinal, is thus commented upon: "And the like course they held with our late good father, and minister, whom Ironice they call, worthy man, (as before you have heard,) but to handle him so unworthily, as all men may see their contempt, and hollow hearts, towards him, their desire being indeed utterly to discredit him, especially about this act of

(1) *A manifestation of the great folly, and bad spirit, of certayne in England calling themselves secular priests*, n. p. 1602. Persons's reiterated approbation of Allen's letter on Deventer, and after such a lapse of time, was very impolitic. We have from Cardinal Bentivoglio a decided testimony of how unanimously the English disapproved of Stanley's act: Da Zutfen è lontano Deventer due leghe sole di strada. Giace l'uno, e l'altro luogo su l'istessa riviera dell' Ysel; e gia fù narrato che dal Colonello Stanley, Inglese, era stata posto Deventer in mano al Duca di Parma. Haveva il Conte Mauritio appresso di sè, frà gli altri Capi di maggior credito, il Colonello di Vera, Inglese. Da questo sopra tutti desideravasi, che subito s'andasse alla ricuperatione di Deventer, e ch' à lui potesse cercare la maggior parte di quel successo in risarcimento del fallo, che s'attribuiva allo Stanley da tutti gl' Inglesi per quella sorte d'attione. (ii. lib. 6.) Hence Deventer was regained by the States, June 10, 1591.

Sir William Stanley." The defence of an act like that of the surrender of Deventer, was pushing the serving of a church over all the bounds of honor, and common morality, and this Stanley was made to feel in his life, and probably also Allen. There are, in this defence, two abstract doctrines enunciated, very revolting to the feelings of mankind, the deposing power of Popes, and the assertion that faith need not be kept with heretics. But did Allen justify, or recommend, the assassination of Elizabeth? for, in the eyes of modern critics, this is the sole offence which can be alledged in justification of the Queen's severities, and which the situation of the refugees does not palliate. There is no evidence to fix such a crime on the Cardinal; and in the process on the Babington affair, he is shown to have remonstrated with Ballard against his design to murder Elizabeth.

The two documents which accompanied the armada, "*The Declaration*," and "*The Admonition*," are the most violent attacks of the Spanish party on the Queen; the former went under Allen's name, and the latter he signed. (1) In this

(1) "From my Lodginge in the Palace of S. Peter at Rome this 28 April 1588. The Cardinal." "Cardinal Allen, not without the help of Persons, and consent of other priests, published the *Declaration of Sixtus Quintus his bull*," a new challenge made to N. D. London, 1600, p. 107. "Yet the said Father Parsons, (for so we will ever charge him, though another man by his crafty persuasion took upon him to be the author of that book,) did labour with all the rhetoric he had, to have persuaded us, upon the supposed arrivall of the Spaniard, to have joyned with him to our own destructions;" and again: "The good Cardinal (by Parsons's means,) is made to say," &c. (Watson's *Important Considerations*, p. 57.) Fuller says of "the *Admonition*:" "The book goes under the name of Cardinal

last vulgar tirade, which might have been safely left to the judgment even of Sixtus the Fifth, or of Alexander Farnese, Persons styles her, and Allen signed the abuse, "A most unjust Usurper, and open injurer of all nations; an infamous, deprived, accursed, excommunicate, heretick; the very shame of her sexe, and princely name; the chiefe spectacle of sinne, and abomination of this our age, and the only poison, calamity, and destruction, of our noble church, and cuntrie; a filthy, wicked, and illiberal, creature." The people are invited to abandon the usurper, against whom

Allen, though the secular priests say he was but the cloak father thereof, and that Parsons the Jesuit made it; others conceive it equivocally begotten, as the result, and extract, of several brains." (*Church History*, ix. c. 16.) Lingard writes, viii. 539, note B.B.: "The language and manner [of the *Admonition*] are certainly not like those of Allen in his acknowledged works; and the appellant priests boldly asserted that the book was penned altogether by the advice of F. Persons. Persons himself, in his answer, though he twice notices the charge, seems by his evasions to acknowledge its truth. (*Manifestation*, pp. 35, 47.) But whoever was the real author, the Cardinal, by subscribing his name, adopted the tract for his own, and thus became answerable for its contents." The rich, and flowing, periods of "the *Apologie*" are not in "the *Admonition*," and we trace Persons's inferior style in that "offensive" document; still there is some evidence that it was in part the work of the writer of the Deventer letter; and we are particularly struck, "in the *Admonition*," with the similarity in the allusion to Catholic victories, and the boast "these fiftie yeares there never was Catholike armie which stood it, but had the victorie," with a similar vaunt in the defence of Stanley. It is humiliating to think that so fine a spirit as Allen should be the dupe, and tool, of Persons, of whose want of principle Tierney says: "It carries with it something so painful, and at the same time so humbling, to our nature, that the mind gladly, and almost instinctively, turns from its contemplation." (Dodd, iii. note, p. 163.)

the most gross and depraved charges are made. However bad all this is, the only part which concerns the disposition of the Queen's person is in "the *Declaration*," which, inviting all to forsake her, leaves her "to the judgment of the Highest;" and in this differs from the version of Meteeren, of the same tract, which sends her to Rome to be judged. Persons repudiated the idea of encouraging assassination;(1) but so many plots against Elizabeth's life are traced to the "Spanish party," of which he was the leader, and having little reliance on his word, since to serve the present occasion he scrupled not to make the most palpably false assertions, claiming the quality of moderation, for himself, and Allen, protesting their love for Elizabeth, and affirming the

(1) This is contained in a tract written by the R. Father F. Robert Persons, of the Society of Jesus, entitled "*A discussion of the answer of M. William Barlow, &c.*, 1612." Barlow had written: "Let Master Blackwell answer for himself, ætatem habet, perhaps it is better for them to stay in prison, then to be dismissed, least they should be made away by Jesuites, as the Bishop of Cassano, Cardinal Allen, Tollet, yea Pope Sixtus Quintus himself, all figged in a trice, for crossing, or at least for not serving, the Jesuites' humours." Persons replies: "So he, and by this kind of answering, the poore man sheweth of what humour he is himself, having nothing to say, nor conscience to discerne what to say, true, or false. For what probability can there be in this conscienceless calumniator, of 'figging, and making away,' so many, and great personages, as here are mentioned. Doth this Prelate think there is a God? or account to be given of such enormous slanders, especially touching blood? Is he fit to have care of soules, that seemeth to have no soule himself, or care what becommeth of other men's soules? Would any Pagan, otherwise a moral man, be so carelesse, or project, in slaundering without any semblance, or shewe of truth, upon meer spite, and malice." (Page 36.)

Cardinal desired to make her subjects obedient, (1) that we disregard Persons's denial of this imputed crime.

After the failure of the armada, Allen applied himself, with Bellarmine, to revise the translation of the Bible, and also the text of the Fathers. Persons, from 1588 to 1596, remained at Madrid, and from the other Jesuits, Allen appears gradually to have separated, and finally a quarrel arose between himself, and that order. This did not however affect his intercourse with Persons. They were connected after 1590 in composing "Doleman's *Conference*;" and this we repeat, notwithstanding Mr. Tierney satisfactorily shows that for the book Persons is responsible. Camden places him first in the list of the authors to whom he ascribes the work, adding the names of Allen and Englefield, and there is Persons's letter in More, confirming Allen's participation. Besides, in the well-sustained candor of the book, we have a quality which, with all Persons's dexterity in assuming disguises of body, and of mind, he

(1) Et de illustrissimo quoque Cardinali Alano ausim affirmare, cujus ingentem erga patriam, et ipsam etiam Elizabetham amorem, jam diu cognovi, et hæc ipsa verba in prima Apologia de re non dissimili memini me legisse. (Page 207.) Mr. Butler has made the same use as Persons of the first *Apology*, which cannot fairly be adduced without stating the circumstances under which it was written. Under the singular head, "Alani et Personii moderatio," the latter continues: Nullis unquam seditionis, aut rebellionis quamquam injustissime oppressis authores fuerunt, sed omnis potius obedientiæ suasores, quæ salva conscientia, et sine Dei injuria, a Christianis populis magistratui civili præstari potest, (p 208;) and again: Nonnullis etiam sedationis, placationisque causæ fuerunt. (*Responsio ad Edictum*, 1592.)

never elsewhere attained, and which, we think, betokens Allen's chastening hand. It is difficult, in the multiplicity of claimants to the English throne, set forward with such a show of fairness, to detect the inclinations of the writers; still in the adherence to the pretensions of Lord Derby, we are reminded of the family, and Lancastrian, prejudices, both of the Cardinal, and Sir William Stanley. The superior weight attached to this Pretender is irreconcilable with the support given to the Infanta, and with the fact, that Philip had carefully prepared his claim on the throne of England, and with D'Ossat's statement that Persons had insisted on its being adopted by all the Anglo-Spanish Jesuit colleges. The inconsistencies of "Doleman's *Conference*" must, however, in part be attributed to the changing circumstances under which it was written, and which made the Pretender of to-day a very ineligible person to-morrow. From 1570, to 1745, a portion of the Roman Catholic party deemed it either right, or politic, to set up a Sovereign of England de jure, as opposed to the ruler de facto; and in supplying this requirement, Allen had supported Mary Queen of Scots, James the Sixth, and the Infanta, and once indeed deviated into acknowledging Elizabeth. To increase the confusion, we gather from Sir Henry Neville, "that after the Queen of Scots' death, the Seculars, and Jesuits, could never agree in any course either of conquest or proposed title."

That the friendship between Allen, and Persons, was not affected by the disputes with the Jesuits, is shown in the request of the latter, in 1610, to be buried by his old asso-

ciate; and that those disputes did not arise from any mitigation of Allen's hostility to the English government, is clearly proved by the part he took in writing "the *Conference.*" We are aware that the letter to Hopkins is often adduced as a manifestation of the Cardinal's desire for a reconciliation with Elizabeth, but in the first *Apology* there are many, and stronger, passages to the same effect, and a few months afterwards he denounced the Queen as a bastard, and usurper. The most reasonable conjecture as to Allen's proceedings from 1588 to 1594 is, that he was occupied as Fitzherbert describes him, in managing the persecuted Church in England; in regulating the seminaries, which inevitably brought him into contact with the Jesuits; in ordering the German Church, and the conversion of the Jews, the two subjects which in the Conclave, Clement the Eighth assigned to him; in his editing the Bible, and the Fathers; and in struggling against a mortal disease. That he declined to add to these very absorbing occupations, that of entering into the Jesuits' plots, is the most natural way of accounting for the enmity which arose between him, and that Order. Allen's was no common power of writing, and they wished to avail themselves of it, whilst he was mainly occupied with that imminent change which awaited him, and human affairs were fast fading away before him.

The party Allen thus renounced, appear to have been very much exasperated against him; and the stories Watson gives in his "*Quodlibetical Questions,*" and which are repeated in the *Biographia Britannica*, that the English students in Rome were not allowed by the Jesuits, to attend,

though invited, upon his death-bed, together with Bell's account of the want of respect towards the dying Cardinal, and of the insulting his corpse, are probably true. De la Houssaye, the editor of D'Ossat's *Letters*, says, Allen was made Cardinal by Sixtus the Fifth: De quoi ce Pape repentit bientot, l'ayant trouvé depuis homme de peu de valeur, et tout à fait incapable du maniment des affaires. Then we hear, "He had lived as a saint, and died as a confessor." It is evident his household always remained true to the Jesuits; and in 1602, Mush, in a letter in Tierney's Dodd, describes "Thomas Hesket, Haddock, Baines, Thomas Fitzherbert, and one Sweet," as Persons's "mercenarii to deal against us," (the English secular priests,) "and to spread calumnies." There is no country where the value of a disparaging character, given by political or theological opponents, is more accurately estimated than in England; and we only allude to this species of record in Allen's case, to show that such differences clouded the evening of his life.

The story of the Cardinal's assassination hardly deserves to be noticed. It is so entirely at variance with the circumstantial account of Allen's last illness, given by his Secretary, that we can hardly exonerate Watson from blame in adopting, or inventing, such a charge. In the summer of 1585, Allen was obliged to go to the Spa for his health; that illness never left him, for eight years he was a sufferer, (Fitzherbert, pp. 84, 96;) and for months before his death, he had warnings of its approach, and those painful ones. (1)

(1) Nam in meiendo difficultatem sensit aliquotiens, atque usum planè

On the 16th of October, (N.S.) 1594, William Allen died. He was buried with much pomp, and the following epitaph still exists over his remains, in the Cemetery of the English College at Rome:

Deo Trino Uni.

Gulielmo Alano, Lancastrensi, S.R.E. presb: Card: Angliæ, qui extorris a patria, perfunctus laboribus diuturnis in orthodoxa religione tuenda; sudoribus multis in Seminariis ad Salutem

omnem quarti dextræ manus digiti sex ante mortem mensibus amisit. Quibus rebus quasi à divino admonitus numine, de nulla re sæpius, ac libentius cum quibusdam familiarium disseruit, quam de suo celeri è vita excessu, ut facile cõstiterit, et sentire ipsum, et lætari vehementer, quod corporis hujus effracto carcere, brevi ei libero tanquam in patriam foret revertendum.

Decessit omnibus Christianis presidiis benè munitus, tanta animi alacritate, constantia, tranquillitate, ut adstantes omnes consolaretur, ipse nullius consolatione indigeret. Decessit autem mane, orto jam sole, *ægritudinis suæ*, mensisque Octobris die decimosexto, humanæ salutis anno MDXCIV.

We cannot doubt that Fitzherbert was present in the chamber of his dying master. "He died, of his disease, in the morning, the sun having just risen." This passage, we think, sets at rest all imputations of poison having been used.

There is evidence that Watson himself fell a victim to the Jesuits. He so stated on the scaffold, and said they had led him into the plot for which he suffered. This might be so. The Spaniards had, by the bribery which they exercised on James's counsellors, according to the evidence of Weldon, Boderie, Jeannin, and others, the means of getting rid of a secular priest, even though unassisted by his own folly. "L' Espagne les sçait cajoler, et grater ou il leur demange," is Puisieulx' somewhat envious commentary on Spanish influence in England. (Boderie, iii. 458.) Watson owed his death to the same power which, fifteen years later, brought his great fellow conspirator, Raleigh, a second and last time to the scaffold.

Patriæ instituendis, fovendis; periculis plurimis, ob ecc: Rom: opere, scriptis, omni corpore, et animi contentione defensam; hic in ejus gremio, scientiæ, pietatis, modestiæ, integritatis fama, et exemplo clarus, ac piis omnibus charus, occubuit XVII Kal: Nov: an. æt: LXIII. exilii XXXIII. Sal: Hum: MDXCIV. Inter lacrimas exulum pro religione civium perpetuum illorum effugium, Gabriel Alanus frater, Thomas Heschetus sororis filius, fratri avunculo chariss: mœrentes posuerunt. [1]

Allen's character is too often made dependent on the religious views of the writer who describes it. Fitzherbert's really admirable book gives the most valuable account of him, and undoubtedly, no sketch of the Cardinal can be filled up, without the Secretary assisting. The innocence, and dignity, of his private life, may be measured against the treason, and bloodshed, which the emissaries from his Seminaries provoked in London. Wood refers to Camden and Godwin. But from the former, his quotation, as to the Cardinal's character, wants that important reservation, without which Camden's description would appear the tirade of a partizan, "for the conservation of the Romish religion in England, for the zeale whereof, he cast off both his love to his country, and his duty to his prince," &c. Godwin styles Allen, "Herostratus," and discharges on him unmeasured

(1) *Gent. Magazine*, 93, i. p. 412. Persons's epitaph precedes that of Allen. It is as stirring as the unquiet spirit it commemorates: "Semper paratus, semper erectus, semper in mediam flammam periculosissime consecrationis irrumpens, animæ magnæ prodigus omnino vir, LXIII explevit annos, ex queis sex ex triginta in Soc: Jesu per omnia virtutis exempla transegit. Obiit 15 Aprilis 1610."

abuse. Anthony Wood adds to these: "But let writers say what they please, certain it is, that he was an active man, and of great parts, and high prudence; that he was religious, and zealous, in his profession, restless till he had performed what he had undertaken; that he was very affable, genteel, and winning, and that his personage was handsome, and proper, which, with an innate gravity, commanded respect from those that came near, or had to do with him."

The love of his native land pressed heavily on Allen's heart through his long exile. "Thou knowest, good Lord," (he says, in the first *Apology*,) "how often we have lamented together, that for our sinnes we should be constrained to spend either al, or most, of our serviceable yeares out of our natural countrie, to which they are most due, and to which, in all ages past, they should have been grateful: that our offices should be acceptable, and our lives, and service, agreeable, to strangers, and not to our dearest at home. Thou knowest how earnestly we have together desired Thee to incline our princes hart to admitte us to our countrie, into what state so ever, so that we might there in povertie, and penaunce, serve the poor soules to their salvation." (1)

We can well imagine Allen, in the chariot to which his

(1) Fitzherbert writes: "Sed nec istæ, nec aliæ, quamvis gravissimæ et laté patentes cogitationes, causæ fuere, ut cogitationem rerum Anglicarum vel ad punctum temporis abjiceret. Nam has ita infixas animo gerebat semper, ut de nulla re magis, quam de eorum ratione, noctes, diesque, meditaretur."

infirmities obliged him to have recourse, gazing from the Janiculum on the broken, and singular outline of the Eternal City; the Tiber beneath his feet — the seven hills, each, except the Viminal, clearly defined—the desolate Campagna, with its aqueducts, from the Alban Hills to Soracte, bathed in the splendor of a southern sun; yet his inclinations, and his fancy, even then bearing him to the Abbot's Walk at Rossall, where, against sand hills covered with star grass, the waves of the ocean beat, — where, through a dull, and misty Lancashire sky, are caught, at rare intervals, views of the Black Coomb in Cumberland, or the Ormes Head, and the Snowdon range, and on some fortunate midsummer evening are seen, in high relief, before the setting sun, the mountains of the Isle of Man.

Li ruscelletti, che de' verdi colli
Del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno,
Facendo i lor canali e freddi e molli,
Sempre me stanno innanzi, e non indarno;
Chè l'imagine lor via più m'asciuga,
Che il male, ond' io nel volto mi discarno.

Inferno, canto 30.

The Copie

Of a Letter

written by M. Doctor Allen: Concerning the Yeelding up, of the Citie of Dauentrie, unto his Catholike Maiestie, by

Sir William Stanley Knight.

Wherin is shewed both howe lawful, honorable, and necessarie that action was: and also that al others, especiallie those of the English Nation, that detayne anie townes, or other places, in the lowe countries, from the King Catholike, are bound, upon paine of damnation, to do the like. Before which is also prefixed à gentlemans letter, that gaue occasion, of this discourse.

Matth. 22.

Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari:
Render therfore the things that are Cæsars, to Cæsar:

Imprinted at Antuarpe, by Joachim Trognæsius, Anno 1587. (1)

(1) The title of the French edition of this tract varies from that of the English.

"Justification pour le Catholique, Noble, Chevalier Anglois, le Sieur Guillaume Stanlay, et autres honorables Capitaines, et Gentils-hommes Anglois de son regiment, sur la rendition de la ville de Deventer, et autres lieux, à l'obeysance de sa Majesté Catholique, qui ont esté detenuz par la Reyne d'Angleterre, pour support des Hérétiques de Hollande, et Zélande.

Propre pour instruire à la guerre, tous Capitaines, et Soldats contre les Hérétiques et leurs adhérants.

Paris. Chez Didier Millot, demeurant rue de la petite Bretonnerie, près la porte Saincte Jacques. 1588."

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COPY OF THE LETTER WRITTEN TO THE SIEUR ALAN.

My Reverend Master,

That which I have frequently heard of the great kindness, and charity, which you are accustomed to show towards those of your nation, who, together with yourself, have, for the Catholic faith, borne so long, and wearisome, an exile, has emboldened me to have recourse, and to address myself, to you. Thus communicating to you an affair of mine of very great importance, as it is likewise to many gentlemen, captains, and soldiers, my comrades, whom the matter touches in conscience, and honor, and is not of little importance to us, and to all others, because on the resolution

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COPPIE DE LA LETTRE ESCRITTE AU SIEUR ALAN.

Mon révérend Seigneur,

Ce que par plusieurs fois J'ay entendu de la grande benignité, et charité, qu'avez accoustumé d'user envers tous ceux de vostre nation, lesquels, unaninement avec vous, supportent un si long et ennuyeux exil, pour la foy Catholique, m'a fait prendre cœur de recourir, et m'addresser à vous, pour vous communiquer un mien affaire de très grand importance, ensemble de plusieurs Gentils-hommes, Capitaines, et Soldats, mes consorts, ausquels la chose touche en conscience et honneur, et qui n'est pas de petite importance pour nous, et pour tous autres : attendu que de la reso-

of this point depends not only our repose, and peace of mind, but it will also be a rule, and general direction, to all those of our nation, and to all others, who make profession of arms, and now serve in this war, how they ought to carry themselves under similar circumstances. Assuring myself, that for the singular good opinion, which all have, of your prudence, doctrine, and sincerity, they will remain more than satisfied, having your opinion, and judgment, to guide them in this matter.

And although we, poor soldiers, may not particularly belong to the flock which the blessed God has specially placed under your charge, and government, (as are the greater part of the ecclesiastics, and Catholic scholars, of our country,) I hope, nevertheless, that the great zeal which you have for the honor of God, and that the singular love which you have always avowed towards those who desire to do well in every profession, will incite you to give us abundantly the consolation, and light, which we desire. Being

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lution de ce poinct, despend, non seulement notre repos, et contentement d'esprit, mais aussi sera comme une regle, et addresse générale pour tous ceux de notre nation, et tous autres, qui font profession des armes, et servent presentement en ceste guerre, comme ils se doivent comportent en semble occurrence: m'asseurant que pour la singulière opinion que tous ont de vostre prudence, doctrine, et sincérité, demeurerant plus que satisfaits, ayans votre opinion, et jugement, pour leur addresse en telle occasion.

Et combien que nous autres soldats ne soyons particuliérement du trouppeau que le Dieu beneist a spécialement mis soubs vostre charge, et gouvernement, (comme sont la plus part des personnes ecclesiastiques, et escholiers Catholiques, de nostre patrie,) j'espère toutesfois que le grand zèle qu'avez à l'honneur de Dieu, et que cet amour singulier que vous avez de tout temps declaré envers tous ceux qui desirent bien faire en toute profession, vous fera un aguillon, pour nous donner d'abondant la consolation, et lumiére,

able to assure you, that many who have not yet seen you, honor, and love, you, with a particular affection, and especially, a large number of our soldiers, who are strongly attached to the Catholic faith, and prepared to render every service to advance it.

And not further to digress, you have already heard, how the noble, and generous chevalier, the Sieur William Stanley, and certain other captains, and English gentlemen of his regiment, have, a few days ago, given up, and placed in the hands of the most serene Duke of Parma, Governor of the Low Countries in name of His Most Catholic Majesty, the city of Deventer, and other neighbouring places of importance, which were entrusted for protection to the Queen of England, and her representatives, and they are come, not only themselves, but also as many as there were of companies of soldiers, into the service of His Catholic Majesty, and of the said most serene Duke of Parma.

Returning then to this matter, many discourses, and arguments,

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que nous desirons: vous pouvant asseurer que plusieurs ne vous ayent encores veu, vous honorent et aiment d'une particulière affection, et signamment un bon nombre de noz soldats qui sont fort affectionnez à la foy Catholique, et préparez à tout service en faveur d'icelle.

Et pour ne m'estendre plus outre, vous avez desja entendu comme ce noble et généreux chevalier, le Sieur Guillaume Stanley, et aucuns autres honorables Capitaines et Gentils-hommes Anglois de son régiment, auroient ces jours passéz, rendu et mis entre les mains du Sérénissime Duc de Parme, Gouverneur des pays bas, au nom de Sa Majesté Catholique, la ville de Deventer et autres places voisines d'importance, lesquelles estoient consignées comme en garde à la Royne d'Angleterre et à ses députez, et sont venus, non seulement ceux-cy, mais aussi tant qu'il y avoit de compagnies de soldats au service de Sa Majesté Catholique et dudit Sérénissime Duc de Parme.

Retournant donc au propos de ce fait tiennent plusieurs discours

very opposite to each other, (according to the variety of the judgments of men,) are held, that is, those who are very zealous Catholics, have no scruple on their consciences, and do not esteem that it would be against the point of honor of good captains, and soldiers, to have done it, rather they regard it for a very honorable, and praiseworthy, act. Others more violent, or perhaps who are less zealous in the cause of religion, and especially some of our soldiers entered into the service of His Catholic Majesty, and who have yet had no experience of a similar affair, but have been more influenced by the respect, and affection they bear their colonels, than by the just consideration of the cause by means of which this matter has been thus accomplished, are of another opinion. Hearing such a diversity of opinion upon this matter, they remain somewhat perplexed, and with anxiety of doubt, and above all others, the heretics, and our enemies, as well in England, as here, do not cease to resent, and to avenge themselves of, the offence received, (which appears to them in a very exaggerated light,) with

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et arraisonnemens tous fort différens (selon la variété du jugement des hommes) à sçavoir, que ceux qui sont bien zéléz Catholiques, n'ont aucun scrupule en leurs consciences, et n'estiment que ce soit contre le poinct de l'honneur des bons Capitaines et soldats de l'avoir fait, ains l'estiment pour un fait trèsjuste et trèslouable. Autres plus passionnéz, ou bien qui sont moins échaufféz en la cause de la religion, et signamment aucuns de noz soldats venuz au service de Sa Majesté Catholique, et qui n'ont encores cognoissance de semblable chose, mais comme plus a prévalu en eux touchant ce fait, l'affection et respect qu'ils portoient à leurs Colonels, que la juste considération de la cause, à l'occasion de laquelle cecy a esté fait ainsi, sont d'autre jugement. Et entendans tant de diversitéz d'opinions sur ce fait, demeurent aucunnement perplex, et avec anxieté de scrupule, et sur tous autres, les Hérétiques et noz ennemis, tant en Angleterre que par-deçà ne cessent de se ressentir, et se venger, de l'offense reçue, (laquelle leur

an infinity of calumnies, denouncing us, amongst themselves, and publicly, as traitors, perjurers, breakers of faith, and rebels, wishing by these means to subdue, and terrify, the hearts of their people, who still hold many places, and fortresses, of his Catholic Majesty in this country, lest they should imitate our example.

Therefore, Sir, we desire of you now, that you would kindly explain to us this point, and with some brief writing, (if you deem it just, and suitable,) take upon yourself the defence of our honor, at your earliest convenience, so that by your authority, and reputation, which is in great esteem with every one, and by the force of arguments, which your wisdom knows how to find, the propriety of what has been done may be established, and the consciences of those who hesitate may remain satisfied.

And besides this, if, according to what Sir William Stanley has by letters required of you, you would so greatly oblige us, as to

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semble estre trop grande,) avec une infinité de calomnies, nous déclarans entr'eux et tous autres, pour traistres, perjures, brise foy, et rebelles: voulans par ce moyen atterrir et espouventer le cœur de leurs gens, lesquels tiennent encores plusieurs places et forteresses de Sa Majesté Catholique en ce pays, afin qu'ils ne facent le semblable.

C'est donc Monsieur, ce que nous desirons de vous pour le present, qu'il vous plaise nous esclarcir ce poinct, et avec quelque mot d'escript (si le trouvez juste et convenable) prendre à vous la deffense de nostre honeur, avec la première commodité: afin que par vostre authorité et credit, qui est en très-grande estime envers un chacun, et par l'efficace des raisons que vostre prudence scaura trouver pour avérer la confirmation de ce qui a esté fait, les consciences de ceux qui sont douteux puissent demeurer satisfaictes, en fermant la bouche à noz ennemis.

Et outre ce selon que le Seigneur Guillaume Stanlay par ses lettres vous a requis, que s'il vous plaisoit nous tant favoriser, que de nous envoyer icy quelques gens d'Eglise doctes, de bonne vie

send here some wise ecclesiastics of good, and exemplary, life, from those who are under your charge at Rheims, or elsewhere, you would do to us a very acceptable thing, and especially to the said Sir William Stanley, who desires it earnestly, and expects of you this particular favor, which, as we hope, may be the commencement of another, happy, and full, harvest, of so many souls which find themselves here, hungering, and thirsting, to taste something useful, and profitable, for their salvation. Moreover the said ecclesiastics who shall come, may labor here, to equal, or not less, profit, as though in England itself, and with much greater safety. And we shall all remain bound to supplicate the Divine Majesty for the happy success of the labors, and toils, you sustain for your native country, and, having so said, I humbly kiss your hands.

Your very humble servant,

R. A.

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et exemplaire, de ceux qui sont soubs vostre charge à Rheims ou ailleurs: vous feriez à nous tous chose très-acceptable, et particulièrement audit Seigneur Stanlay, qui le desire avec grande instance, et attend de vous ceste particulière faveur. Laquelle chose comme nous espérons, pourra donner commencement à une autre très-heureuse, et ample, moisson de tant d'ames qui se retrouvent icy, avec faim et soif de ressentir quelque chose utile et proffitable à leur salut, outre la considération que sesdits Seigneurs d'Eglise qui viendront, pourront icy travailler avec pareil ou non moindre fruict qu'en Angleterre mesme, et avec plus grande seureté. Et nous tous demeurerons très obligéz à prier la divine Majesté pour l'heureux succès des labeurs et travaux que vous soustenez pour la patrie. Et à tant je vous baise très-humblement les mains.

Vostre très-humble serviteur,

R. A.

THE ANSWER

OF

CARDINAL ALLEN

TO THE FORMER LETTER.

THE ANSWER OF CARDINAL ALLEN TO THE FORMER LETTER.

Honorable good Sir,

Your letters came with good speede, and in season, hauing at this present readie meanes to returne answere, and yet time ynough to waighe wel the marter of question you moue unto me. Into the more particular cōsideratiō whereof, I wil enter the rather at your request: though otherwise by the dutie of my priesthoode, and professiō, I compt myselfe bound to serue my christian countriemen, in al such things, as may any way perteine to their saluatiō. For you must not thinck, that I am so restrayned to studētes matters, though that be my special trade, and charge, that I haue no care of so manie worthie men of your vocatiō, whom with hart, prayers, and penne, I doe most willinglie serue, knowing that state of life, to be necessarie for the commōwealth, godlie, honorable, and especiallie appointed by God, for defense of Justice, and Religion. Out of which order the Church of Christ celebrateth sundrie, for high Sainctes: and whole legions haue benne, for their constancie in faith, martyred at once. Manie in the holie Scriptures, for singular deuotion towardes Christs person, and special promptnes to receive the faith, by the Apostles preaching, by name commended. And remembring in S. Lukes narration, of the holie Capitaine Cornelius, and of one of his souldiars, whom the Evangelist nameth: *militē metuentem Dominū, à souldiar fearing God,* it easily brought me to conceiue, that sundrie of your bande, in whose behalfe you propose the doubt, haue the feare of God before their eyes: which is a peerlesse prayse, in such as folowe art militare: and that the whole companie is not

Manie souldiars great Sainctes ād Martyrs.

Act. 10.

farre from the Kingdome of God, that haue such regarde, of their conscience, and good name.

To come then to your purpose, though I haue alreadie, by my letters to Sir William, geuen myn opinion, I wil yeat for better clearing the cause, set here downe, my minde more largely, and distinctly.

Rēdering up of townes wrongfully holden, to be necessaire.

Therefore first I say, that the rēdering up of such townes, and places, of the lowe countries, as be in anie English mēnes custodie, is not onlie lawful, but necessarie to be done, under paine of mortal sinne, and damnation. The cause is, for that euerie thing wrongfully obtayned, and uniustly detayned from the true owneres, whether they be, by fraude, or violence come by, according to al diuine, and humane lawes, and by the very rule of nature, ought to be restored to them, to whom they duly pertayne. Which thing as it is euident in al other negotiation of mannes life, wherein no man may lawfully detayne other mēs goodes: (1) so the old holie

Restitution of thinges wrongfully detayned, necessaire in al warres, just or uniust.

(1) What share Persons had in the composition of this tract, we leave to be decided by commentators like those who so nicely apportion the authorship of the dramas of Elizabeth's age. It may however assist in such apportionment to point out corresponding passages in Persons's works. In "a *Manifestation*," &c., printed 1602, he reproves the Secular English Priests for their indignation at Stanley's treachery, and Allen's defence of it. "The good religious Knight thought himself bound under paine of grievous sin, (as indeed he was by all true divinity,) to make restitution of the town to the true owner, when it lay in his hand, no less then when a theefe having robbed, or spoyled, any honest man, and put the booty in pawne, or deposition, in another man's hand, he is bound, knowing the truth, not to keep it for the theefe, nor to restore it to him again, but to the true owner; and this, we think, our brethren in their divinity will not attempt to deny, as neither this case following: Suppose any Spaniard, or Italian, or other subject of the King of Spayne, should hold any towne at this day in Ireland of the Earl of Tyron, and under his pay, and becoming a Protestant, should therefore think it just, and reason, and himself bound in conscience, to yield the same freely, and frankly, without reward or covenant, to her Majestie, as to the true owner, would our men, (trow you,) cry out More of treachery, and breach of faith, against the King of Spayne?" This by a marginal note is styled, "An example clerely convincing the calumniators." The illustration used by Persons is indeed an example of his own recklessness as to principle. He believed Ireland belonged to the Pope, and that it was given to the Infanta. (Usher's *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, pp. 620, 622: Allen's *Answer to the Execution of Justice*, p. 140; Doleman's *Conference*.)

fathers, and al the latter schoole Doctors, agreably to the Scriptures, and the ciuil and canon lawes, determine restitution, to be specially necessarie, of al thinges wrongfully obtayned in warres; whether the warres be lawful, or unlawful. For warres being nothing els but an act of vindicatiue iustice, must, as much as possible, be in al pointes, void of iniurie, and iniustice.

Against which when anie thing is committed, either by the Prince that causeth the warre, or the souldiars executioners of his wil, and sentence, both the one and the other, are bound to make recompence, and restitution according to the measure and maner, of the iniuries done. And this I say, euen in lawful warres, or such as to the common people may be, upon their Princes credit, so deemed. Where, though they may offend the enimie in life, goodes, libertie, and otherwise as farre and in such sorte, as the lawe of armes permitteth, and prescribeth, yeat what so euer is done against militare discipline, and iustice, is sinne, & punishable by Gods lawes.

In warres plainly uniust, recompence and restitution is to be made of al damage: and of al things uniustly detayned.

But where the warre is wholy, and plainlie unlawful, denounced, and waged without iust cause, yea euidently against right and reason, and so knowne to be to men of understanding, and to the soldiars them selues: in that case the Prince that published the warre doth principally, and most damnably offend; then euerie one that serueth in those warres, doth sinne mortally; and al and euerie one bound to satisfaction, and restitution, for what soeuer annoyance is done, by the said unlawful armes, to the Prince, and people, to whom the iniurie is done. Neither doth the Souereignes authoritie, and commandement, excuse the souldiars, or subiectes, who cannot in conscience, nor may not, be executors by their seruice, of the Princes knowne iniquitie. Owing euer obedience to God more then to any man: though where the iniustice of the warres were not so assuredly knowne to the subiectes, they might upon their Princes warrant, and commandement serue in the same.

The English warres proued to be uniust both by land and by sea.

But nowe that the warres of the lowe countries, on the English part be most uniust, not only such as be in conscience Catholike,

(for other causes which afterward I wil rehearse,) doe most certainlie see: but euen those also which are not wel instructed in Religion, endued only with good nature, reason, and ciuil honestie, must needes confesse. Whereby it wil be plaine, that neither the one sorte of conscience, nor the other of moral iustice, can lawfully serue in the said warres. The warre is iust, saith Cicero in his bookes *De Republica:* as Isiodorus citeth it, which is denounced for recompence, or revenge, of iniuries, and anoyance, or for defence against enimies.

Lib. Etym. 28, c. 1. Causa 23. Quest. 2.

I. 1. The Quene of England, as al the wourld knoweth, can make no iust claime to Holland, Zeland, or any other of those partes, which by armes, she hath seazed on: al those prouinces being confessed to be his Catholike Maiesties auncient, and undoubtful inhæritance: therfore euery way, she can haue no pretence to

II. inuade those countries. 2. The defence of the Kings rebelles, against their most iust Lord, and Soueraigne, is no lawful, nor honorable quarel of warres; neither haue the said Traytoures, and rebelles any authoritie, to yeeld up their Soueraignes townes, and portes, into his enimies handes, or thē selues to the English pro-

III. tection or subiection. 3. Rebelles against their lawful powers, be not properly the confæderates or Socii, of anie Prince, or common-

IIII. wealth, that for their defence armes may be takē. 4. The Kinges Maiestie hath done to the Quene or her realme, no such iniuries, for redresse, or reuenge whereof, she should by hostilitie, enter into his Dominions, and surprise his townes, and castles, and bring his people into her subiection. Neither these causes, nor any other pretenses being sufficient to make her warre lawful, but al plaine proofes, of most uniust quarel, it must needes be euident to eche reasonable man, of what sense in Religion so euer he be, folowing only moral vertue, and the lawe of nature, and natiōs, that as wel this warre by land in the lowe countries, as that other by seas, be nothing elles but a publike robberie, ād pyracie. In both which, not only the Prince, or her principal ministers, my lord of Lecester, and Sir Francis Drake, but al other that serue, in either of the said armies, or any such like, offend God damnably,

and are bound to restore, to the King Catholike, and his people, al that euer they haue, or shal by this uniust violence, extorte from them.

It is not the pretence of the Quenes counsel, or realmes publike, allowing, or permitting these things, that can excuse them before God, or man, either in conscience, or honour. For iniustice done by publike pretended authoritie, is more shameful, then that, which is done by priuate offenders. S. Augustin affirming, that *whole Kingdomes, when they agree upon open iniquitie, are nothing els, but a great laronage,* that is, a brotherhoode of theeues, cōcurring and conspiring in cōmon robberie, *Quid sunt regna* (saith he) *remota iustitia, nisi magna latrocinia?* Lib. 4. Civit. Cr. 4.

I remember, two of the best learned Diuines in Louaine, being demaunded, of the lawfulnes, of the Duke of Alinsones late like actions, in those countries, and of the obligation of that oth, which he caused the people to make, against their Lord & Maister, to him, answered: and put forth their answere in print, that warre to be wholy unlawful, and al othes, & promisses made to him, to be of themselues unjust, & not to bind any man either in honour, or conscience. (1) The Judgement of the Diuines of Louaine concerning the like warres.

And yeat that Prince, might perchance seme to haue some better pretence, upō I can not tel what old interest, that Fraunce c̄halengeth in Flaunders, & other those Prouinces, which once were united, and joyned with Fraunce: and of some hope he had, and gaue to many, to reduce those countries to libertie, at least of Catholike conscience againe. But this English action, hath no apparance of iustice, or æquitie in the worlde. And therfore to any gentleman, or souldiar, that standeth upon his honour, (as that state of men, of al others, haue most reason to doe,) it must needes be à great disgrace, to serue in such publike robberies,

(1) In this tract, Allen justifies the breaking of faith: 1st, with adventurers carrying on unlawful wars, as Alençon; 2nd, with usurpers and heretics, as Lady Jane Gray; 3rd, with excommunicated persons, as Elizabeth. The immorality, which is recommended, is here greater, because the disqualification attached to each of these parties before the oath to them was taken.

either by sea, or land. Which I say to al noble Capitaines, or souldiars, of what Religion soeuer they be, who may easely perceiue, by conference of our old English honorable denounced warres, with these of our dayes. None other hauing benne waged by our countrie, these thirtie yeares almost, then in the cloke of amitie, to surprise the townes, and countries, of their freindes, and confederates: and for the defence, and encouragement of detestable rebelles, against their lawful annointed Kinges. (1)

They helpe the Scottish rebelles.

As soone as the Scottes rebelled, against their Quene, the English ioyned their forces, to the utter ruine, and destruction of both her, and her Dominion. They rebel against their Kinges in Fraunce: our English helpes, and armes, were straight readie, to succour them, and to seaze upon the strong places, of that land, in their owen, or the rebelles, behalfe. They rise in the lowe countries, and in other partes of the wourlde, against the iustest powre that can be: and immediately, (as though our countrie were ordayned, to be the buckler of al rebellion, iniustice, and an enimie of lawful Dominion, and Superioritie,) the Quene thincketh it honorable, or needful, to protect the said rebelles, & to assayle with the wicked traitours, and seditious persons, the oldest, faithfullest, and greatest confœderate, that euer our realme had. (2)

The French rebelles.

The Flemish rebelles.

(1) In reply to all this, the English very justly charged Philip with interfering in his neighbour's concerns:

"Have not I enticed the subjects of my neighbor Princes to destroy their natural Kings? like moths that eat the clothes in which they were bred, like vipers that gnaw the bowels of which they were born, and like worms that consume the wood of which they were engendered.

"To what kingdom have not I pretended claim? as though I had been by the gods created heir apparent to the world, making every trifle a title." (Lily's *Midas*.)

(2) It is hardly necessary to comment upon these statements. Elizabeth's wars were undertaken to protect this island from the most powerful confederacy which was ever formed against it. That great Queen chose her own battlefield; her subjects were not harassed as the unfortunate Dutch, nor divided as the French, Italian, and Spanish; diplomacy, and arms, failed alike to arrest the onward progress of the country, or to interrupt the happiness of the people. "All these cuntries which I have past, from London to this sea bank," (West Chester, 26 Feb. 1568, writes White to Burleigh,) "live in great welthe, and quietness; each man increaseth his

When therfore our English warres, that in other ages, were renoumed for iustice, fortitude, and fælicite, are become to be infamous, & infortunate, through the wourlde, as made for the patronage of rebellious and seditious persons, and maintenance only of iniustice, and iniquitie: who can not of a very moral reason, and honestie, perceiue, his good name, and honour to be stayned, by cooperation in such infamous actions? and his soule to be in daunger of æternal perdition, by following, and executing, other mennes most unlawful, and barbarous desiḡmentes, to the disturbance of the quiet, and weal, of al christian natiōs, rownd about us? or thincketh it not à most glorious resolutiō, to reuolt to that side, with which al true honor, and iustice, & al conditions of lawful warres doe stand? Of such I speake of our countrie men, in whom is yeat lieft some remorse of conscience, or respect of iustice, necessarie for humane societie: though by this euel times, & error of education, at home they be not wel instructed yeat in Christian Religiō, & vertue. For of others, (as I fear some such be, in the Atheisme, that our countrie is fallen into,) that haue put of al sense of ciuil iustice, honour, and honestie, togeather with the feare of God, and his iudgemēts in the next life, I can say nothing. In this sorte some such may be, not only among priuate poore souldiars, but of the counselers of our coũtrie, that without respect, of either christain discipline, or olde heathen obseruation in this case, which was euer most sacred, thinke *Regna esse occupātium, Kingdomes to be rightly theirs that can catch them*: and al their owne, they can either by machiuilã shiftes, or violent armes, obtayne: that regard not the ould honour, rule, and discipline, of

Atheistes of England uncapable of admonition.

owne, and no degree dare offend the lowe." (Haynes, p. 511.) Osborne, in the latter end of James's reign, speaks of "the bone fires, and loud acclamations, used still by the people upon the day of her inauguration, [the 17th of November, not unlike the 4th of June of our youth,] the felicity of which was never since matched, nor have we yet had any cause to hope it will be." But we refer to Cardinal Allen's own statement, in the "*Apologie*," of the eminently successful policy of Elizabeth. Perhaps Bacon's proposal, (*Scrinia Sacra*, p. 51,) that the disaffected Irish should be transported, and settled in England, conveys, most forcibly, the perfect reliance placed on the loyalty of Elizabeth's English subjects.

chiualrie: that fear not the compt they have to make, for the bloud of innocents, for sackages, spoyle, rapine, destructions, depopulatiõs, and subuersion of whole kingdomes: that thinke it cause of warre good ynough to hinder their neighbours greatnes, ãd to disturbe other mennes quietnes, to procure their owne peace, ãd safetie. If either, (I say,) our countrie, once of notable name, in martial iustice, or any of our souldiars, be come to this extremitie, to deale with such, either by humane, or Diuine lawes, were *Cum ratione insanire, as the Poéte said.

* To be madde with reason.

And these haue only to make their prayer, in the morning dayly, as we haue heard, of à certaine holy theefe, in the bordes: Good Lord send me, to hurte many this day, and none to hurte me.

This that foloweth specially to be noted of Catholike.

But nowe to come to those, that in the campe be Catholikes, as I perceiue by you, Sir, and otherwise, that verie manie be in their hartes fully resolued our forefathers faith to be only true, and that innumerable, at home in our coũtrie, (1) doe dayly more and more perceiue, that these newe Sectes were but to make broyle, and garboyle, in the wourlde, that in the uniuersal shuffle of things, poore lost companions might haue their partes, yea & other mennes partes too. To such therefore as be, by Gods special gift, Catholikly bẽt, it shal be an easier matter, to make cleare this point. For as they be more capable of reason, & more obseruant of ciuil iustice, and moral vertue: so they haue their consciences better informed, by the rules of Christian Religion, for gouernment of their actiõs, in all partes of life. Such may easely perceiue, not only for the causes aforesaid, this warre, on thenglish side, to be uniust, and that the seruice in the same, is sinful, dishonorable, & obnoxious to restitution: but principally, for that it is waged, for defẽce of Hæresie, and Hæretikes, and for the euersion of the Catholike faith: that is to say, directly against God, and his holy Church.

(1) In 1597, it is stated, "there are four hundred Catholic Priests in England: not thirty follow the Father's (Persons) directions to draw the Catholics to embrace the designements of the Catholic King." (*Considerations, &c.*, Tierney's Dodd, iii. p. 67.)

The Holy Prophet of God, that reprehēded King Josaphat, for geuing succourse, (of amitie only, & not of euel meaning in Religion,) to the wicked King Achab, saying: *Impio præbes auxilium, et iis qui oderunt Dominum amicitia iungeris, idcirco irā Dei merebàris. Thou geuest ayde to the wicked & art cōfœderate with such as hate our Lord, therfore thou deseruedst Gods ire:* what would he haue saide, or what may we deeme of our Princes cōfederacies, only & alwayes, with Christ his enimies? as with the Ghewes, Hugonots, and Caluinistes, in Flaunders, Fraunce, & Scotland, with most ample succourses cōtinually yeelded to euerie of them, for destructiō of Christian Religion? I wich [wis?] not only unlawful, but sacrilegious warres; al men of conscience must consider, that al Coronells, Capitaines, and souldiars, that in this case serue the Prince, and Hæretikes, are partakers of their iniquitie, cooperators with them in al their sinne, executors of the Hæretical Princes sentence, against their owne Catholike, and innocēt bretheren: fauters, and defenders of Hæretikes: and so by the censure of holy Church, incurre Excommunication: à most pitiful, and dangerous state, for à christian man to liue or dye in.

2 Paralip. 19 Avg. lib. 2, contra Epist. Parmem.

The case of Catholikes that serue Hæretikes.

They must marke, what an infinite miserie it is, for à noble, and couragious hart, (as lightly those men of best service be,) that with their swoorde, and armes, the wicked only should be protected, and the innocent destroyed, Churches despoyled, Gods Priests & seruantes murthered, the blessed Sacramentes profaned, (1) yea euen the dread soueraigne holies, of Christs owne bodie & bloud. What death should not à true Catholike Knight suffer, rather then for to see, such horrible wickednes committed? or to be in such base seruitude of Hæresie, & her dishonorable defenders, as with their owne handes, to be ministers of such sacri-

(1) Allen, in the "*Apologie*," frequently, and with the eloquence of sincerity, touches on this subject. They "would have counted it a singular grace, during the distress of these days," (he is speaking of Roman Catholics in England,) "to have had, by permission, pardon, connivance, their soul rightes, (without which men perish doubtlessly everlastingly,) in their private houses, and chambers, yea in prisons, in the closest and least offensive manner in the world."

legious impietie, and wich is yeat more pittiful, that one Catholike man should be brought, to destroy an other, that in fine euerie one may be the instrument, of his owne destruction? In their ciuil gouernement at home, they cause the Catholike iudge, to geue sentence of death, against the Priests whose innocẽcie they knowe, & whose Religion in hart, they beleuve to be true. They make one Catholike neighbour, to accuse an other, and one nobleman to condemne an other. In their warres, they serue themselues of Catholikes: (1) & by English Catholikes, they destroy Catholikes abrode: that forreine Catholikes being ouerthrown, they may more easely, ouerthrowe their owne at home. Alas for my deare bretheren: alas for our desolate countrie: which no noble hart can nowe serue, either in Politike, or Martial matters, but upõ such detestable cõditiõs, of assured dãnatiõ, ãd in fine to their owne utter ruine also in this life.

The policie and practise of Hæretikes to make one Catholike destroy another.

Of al men in the world, the souldiar should most specially attend to his conscience: and stand upon good & sure groundes, for the iustice of the quarel, he hath in hand, being howerly more subiect to death, and daunger then any other kinde of men: and being assured that if he dye, in any knowen euel cause, and namely in this fight against God, and defence of Hæretikes, he is doubtles to be damned for euer. As contrariewise, to dye in lawful warres, for defence of true Religion, & Gods honour, in most cases, plaine martyrdome. Let no christian conscience therefore, excuse, or flatter itselfe, in this case, upon the Princes commandemẽt or the Superiors authoritie, or upon the daunger of disobeyng the Quenes lawes: no mortal creature hauing lawful power to commaund, nor any subject bound, or permitted to obey, in matter against God. In which case, à mã must say to his Prince, with S.

A souldiar of al other had most need to be careful of his cõscience.

Souldiars dying in defence of true Religion are martyrs.

(1) Shrewsbury guarding the Queen of Scots, Derby resisting the pilgrimage of grace, and the rising of the North, together with the universal appreciation of the blessings of Elizabeth's rule, seem in no way to have satisfied the refugees of the Spanish party, of the hopelessness of their conspiracies. At last the English Roman Catholics insisted on the removal of Persons from the direction of their concerns, and thus, asserting their independence, made loyalty, and religion, compatible.

Augustin: *Tu minaris carcerē, Deus Gehennam. Thou threatenest Prison, God threateneth Hel.* S. Aug. Ser. 6. Verbis Domini.

And as it is undecent, for any Christian for feare of man, to offend God: so it is most disagreable to the manly courage, and constancie of a christian Catholike souldiar, for feare of death, (1) or daũger whatsoeuer to enter in to so damnable, and dishonarable a seruice, or to fight, or die in à cause cõtrarie to his owne conscience. Besides al this to serue in a hæretical cause, and under hæretical capitaines, catholikes are inforced, to heare continual blasphemies of al Sainctes, & Sacraments, & to be present at the wicked Sermõs, & profane seruice, of the Hæretikes, which is no lesse dãnable, then it was in olde time, for such as serued the heathen Emperoures, to commit Idolatrie, by Sacrificing to Idoles. For refusing of which abomination, and in particular for disobeying the Emperoure Maximinus his commandement therin, the famous coronel S. Mauritius, with the legion of Thebs, sustayned most glorious martyrdome, as diuers others did under Julian the Apostate, and the like. And many noble souldiars, for that they could not exercise their Christian usages, partly were driuen to abandon their profession, in displeasure of their Princes, and partly

An other inconueniẽce in seruing of Hæretikes.

S. Maurice with his legion of souldiars martyred. Eusebi. lib. 8, cap. 3 & 4.

(1) "You knowe the superabundant reward, the glorious crowne, the eminent state, the ineffable felicity, of such as confesse Christ before men, and wash their garments in the blood of the Lamb. You know, the reward so incomparable succedeth immediately al the paines: but a moment betwixt man's momentarie punishment, and God's everlasting payment: betwixt the temporal ignominie, and eternal glorie. You know, within an hour afterward, everlastingly, the poorest confessor of Christ, is not onely more glorious with Angels and Sainctes in heaven, but also often, (as we see both in the old, and late, Martyrs,) of more renowned memorie among men, then their persecutors." (Allen's *Apologie*, c. 7.)

By these appeals, Allen had successfully induced a succession of men to enter England preaching Roman Catholicism, and braving the almost certain death prepared for them there. "For these last terrours, (thankes be to God!) trouble them so little, that divers straight, upon the arrival here at Rheims of the late proclamation of January, came to their Superiours, to desire leave to go in: and being answered that the times were not seasonable, they said it was no Goda mercie for a Priest to enter in at other times, but that they were brought up, and made specially, for such daies, and nineteen persons the same weeke following, took holy orders." (*Ibid.* c. 5.) This devotion it was now sought to inspire in the hearts of Stanley and his regiment.

were licensed to depart: as may appeare by à Decree, in the holy
Can. 12. councel of nice, where it is forbidden to christian souldiars so licensed to depart, to return to those profane warres againe. For that is the meaning, when the Fathers upon great spiritual paine commanded, that none should *resumere cingulum militare*, that is, *put on the girdle militare againe*, that for such à cause, had leift it once.

And surely if there were nothing els but this, that the Catholike souldiar being howrely in peril of death, can haue no Sacrament, nor Sacramẽtal for his sinnes, nor any comfort of conscience, nor succour for his soule in the world, it must nedes be the most miserable condition that can be thought of. Nowe to be relieued of this deadlie calamitie, & distresse of cõscience, after à man is once by errour, or misfortune entred into the same, there is no way, but to forsake that uniust, and irreligious cause, and to retire to that part where à mã may serue with iustice, honour, great reward in this life, and sure hope of saluation. And no doubt, but most happie be those Gentlemen, that haue this occasion, & commoditie offered them by God, to make amendes for their former errour, as wel by seruing of the Church, which before they impugned, as by rendering up the places, which they, (though not of malice, yeat,) by other mens uniust appointement, did from the true Lordes, and owners, detayne.

An other cause whie the warres of the Quene be not lawful.

Yea I say more to you (Gentlemen) seing you desire to knowe my meaning fully, in this point, that as al actes of iustice within the realme, done by the Quenes authoritie, euer since she was, by publike sentence of the Church, and Sea Apostolike, declared an Hæretike, and an enimie of Gods Church, and for the same, by name excõmunicated, & deposed from al regal dignitie; as (I say) euer sithence * the publication therof, al is voide, by the lawe of God, and man: so likewise no warre can be lawfully denounced, or waged by her, though otherwise in itselfe, it were most iust. Because that is the first condition, that is required in iust warre, that it be by one denounced, that hath lawful, and supreme powre to doe the same: as no excõmunicate person hath: especially if

Bulla Pij Quinti. An. 1569.

* An. 1570.

An excommunicate person can not lawfully denounce warres.

he be withal deposed, frō his Regal dignitie, by Christ his owne vicare, which is the supreme powre in earth. And al subjectes are not only absolued, & discharged of their seruice, oth, homage, & obediẽce: but specially forbidde to serue, or obey any such canonically cōdemned person. *Nos* (sayth Gregorie the seuẽth) *Sanctorum Prædecessorum nostrorum Statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis, fidelitate aut Sacramento, constricti sunt, Apostolica authoritate à sacramento absoluimus, et ne eis fidelitatem obseruent, omnibus modis prohibemus,* that is: *wee according to our Prædecessors Decrees, doe assoyle, and discharge al them, that by obligation of oth, or fidelitie, are bound to persones excommunicate: and that they do not obey such, we do expresly forbid.* And for their discharge especially, that serue in such warres, there is an expresse Canon of Urbanus the second: *Juratos milites Hugoni Comiti, ne ipsi, quandiu excommunicatus est, seruiant, prohibeto; qui si sacramentum prætenderint, moneantur, oportere Deo magis seruire quam hominibus, Fidelitatem enim quā Christiano principi iuraverunt, Deo eiusq' Sanctis aduersanti, et eorum præcepta calcanti, nulla cohibentur authoritate, persoluere.* Which is thus in oure toung: *Geue order, that the sworne souldiars of Countie Hughe, serue him not so long as he stādeth excommunicate: and if they prætēd their former oth, made unto him, admonish them, that God is to be serued, before men. For, that oth, which they made to him then, when he was à Christian Prince, is not nowe to be kept towardes him, being an enimie to God, & his Sainctes, & à breaker, & cōtemner, of their cōmaundementes.* These fewe, as I might doe much more, I alleadge, that you may see, the sense of the Catholike Church, which to you, that be the children of the same, wil be à ful warrant, for al your actions, & a guide for al Gentlemen, & persons, of rightly informed consciences, howe to behaue them selues, when not only the warres are for Religion, but when any excommunicate, or canonically condemned Prince, is one partie. Whom no man by lawe can serue, nor geue ayde unto, but he falleth into Excommunication. And therfore whẽ S. Augustin writeth, that sometimes it falleth out, that à iust man,

Subiectes ought not to obey an excommunicate Prince.

Causa 15. quest. 6.

Lib. 22. Con. Favst. Cap. 74 & 75.

may serue à wicked & sacrilegious king in the warres, for obedience to his superiour, so that nothing be cõmaunded him plainly against Gods præceptes: especial exception is made, in Kings excommunicated. Who differ in this case, in respect of seruice, & obediẽce of their subiectes, and are in à woorse Prædicament, then any either heathen, or uniust Prince, or Potẽtate who so euer: yea then Juliane the Apostate him selfe: whom to serue in iust warres, & causes, Christian souldiars were not by the Church, then prohibited: but only were as well by the lawe of God, as the Church forbidden to serue him, in any warre or woorke against Christ, and Christians, or when he went about to destroy the true Religion. But where, for defection from the faith, or other enormities not tolerable, the sentence of Excommunication, & Depositiõ is also adioyned, there can neither be lawful warres, nor any dutie of seruice in the same allowable. So great à crime it is in à Prince, that is exalted by God, to administer iustice, to defend Christs Church, & the faithful people thereof, and taketh à solemne corporal oth, at his coronatiõ, by his woorde & might, to obserue, & maintayne, the lawes & priuilegies, of holy Church, and al prærogatiues, graunted by his prædecessours, to the same, and to honour the Bisshoppes, & Clergie of his realme: afterward neglecting his oth, promise, and vocation, to bend al his powere, to destroy Gods Religiõ, Church, & Priestes, & become an enimie to al humane societie. This then being the miserable condition of such Princes, as be cutt off by the Churches Censures, from the felowshippe of the faithful: you may see what à dishonorable thing it is, for men of honour, or honestie, to striue by armes, for the upholding of them, whõ God by his iust iudgemẽts, & the Churches sentence doth pul downe. And therwith perceiue, that those that breake with God, can not claime any bõde of oth, or fidelitie of them, that were their subiectes.(1) And least of al, of Christian Knightes, &

Causa 23. quest. 1.

Causa 11. quest. 3. ca. Julianus.

Howe heynous à crime it is for a Prince to fal from the Church of God.

(1) We know of none of Allen's writings where the doctrine of the postponement of the temporal, to the spiritual, authority, is not insisted upon. In his defence of the Seminaries he does not refrain from bringing it forward. Beyond all doubt, it was most conscientiously believed in by him, and his followers. They were sent into

Gentlemen of armes: the principal institution, and professiō, of al such noble orders being, for defēce of the true Catholike, and Apostolike faith, and to be sworne adversaries, and persecutors of Gods enimies: the Crosse and Cognissaunce they weare protesting the same. As contrariewise, no Hæretike can be à lawful souldiar, but by the imperial and canon lawes, is to be degraded, of militare dignitie, & armes, and to be spoyled of his militare girdle, as they then spake. For Hæresie maketh à man, by al christian lawes, infamous, and voideth him of al degrees, and titles of honour, among which militare order is, & of olde time was so great, that euery man of armes, was capable of the Imperial souereigntie. Therfore as in yeelding up, the places uniustly possessed, you did an act of restitution, & iustice: so (Gentlemen) in forsaking the warres of the other side, for so many respectes, as I haue saide, dishonorable, unlawful, & damnable, you haue done doubtlesse agreably to your christian knighthood, & an act much renowned in al these partes, of the best, & wisest, of al degrees.

The duties of à Christian Knight.

Liberius Epist. 1. ad Athanasiū.

Hæresie maketh a man infamous, and uncapable of al degree, and dignitie.

And the same that you haue done, al other of honour, conscience, and Religion, of our countrie, are bound to doe: as wel in this warre, as in al other, which either at home, or abrode, is waged for, or against Religion. After King Saul was by God, and the Prophets sentence, as it were, excommunicated, and deposed, it was no fault for Dauid, or others, either of the Priestes, or people, to reuolt from him: nor for any other Capitaines, or souldiars of Saules side, now deposed, to render up al they had in their gouernments, to King David, and his posteritie. It was no crime, but great commendation for Joiada the high Priest, to reuolt from the usurping Quene Athalia: nor for others to do the same, against wicked King Achab, and cursed Jesabel, nor to see, per-

1. Reg. 16. & sequens.

4. Reg. 11. 3. Reg. 18. & 4. Reg. 9.

England, either to insist on this in the abstract, or in practice, as in the deposition of Elizabeth, precisely as circumstances invited greater or less caution. To this point we see the examinations of the accused in England were immediately directed. No one can read this tract, and not agree with Parry's remark, on Allen's former production, which led him to the scaffold: "That every word is a warrant to a prepared mind;" and therefore Elizabeth held the disseminators of such sentiments, as sowers of treason, and rebellion, and so punished them.

mit, and proue them, for their impietie condignly punished: wherunto the uery Priestes, and Prophets of God, did by counsel, and encouragemēt, cooperate. In which case, we may see, for our instruction, not only townes uniustly detayned, to be restored, to the true Lordes, but an impious Kings owne countries also, & cities lawfully by reuolt of the people, yeelded up to other mennes handes, as the Scriptures do recorde of the countries and cities of Edom, and Lobna: which reuolted from King Joram, and from the Dominion of Juda, for euer, yeelding this cause therof: *Dereliquerat enim Deum patrum suorū. For,* (saith the holie storie,) *he had forsaken the God of his forefathers.* To forsake them, that forsake God, is most lawful, honorable, and necessarie, as contrariewise to serue and defend them, whom God, by the sentence of his high Priest, & Tribunal in earth, hath pulled downe, & wil haue punished, is to fight against God, and to resist his ordinaunce.

2. Paralip. 21. 4. Reg. 8.

Examples of our owne coūtrie. King John forsaken.

And I pray you, Gentlemen, (to geue you domestical examples,) what disgrace, or shame was it, for al the chiefe Lordes of our countrie, to reuolt from King John, in his dayes? & absolutly to denie him ayde, & assistence, euen in his lawful warres, until he returned againe to the obedience of the Sea Apostolike, and were absolued from the censures of the same, which he had iustly incurred? or for the English nobilitie, & specially for the renowmed Stanley, one of this Sir William his house, and name, to reuolt from King Richard the Tyrant, and to yeeld him selfe, and his charge, to Henrie the seuēth? What dishonor was it, for the nobilitie of England, in our memories, to forsake Jane the pretended Quene: & Northumberland, the father of him, whom nowe you haue forsakē, & to yeeld the Towre committed to their custodie, and them selues, to the lawful, and most Religious Quene Marie? Notwithstanding what uniust bandes of oth, or promisse soeuer they had made, of feare & pusilanimitie, to the said usurper, & Hæretical Quene before? In al these, and the like, there is neither sinne, nor shame, nor scandal committed. For that to reuolt, is of itselfe, lawful, or unlawful, honorable or otherwise, according to the iustice, or iniustice of the cause, or difference of

Richard the third lawfully forsaken.

Jane the usurper forsaken.

the person, from or to whō, the reuolt is made. Wherin, when the right from the wrong is euident, & in the Capitaines, or souldiars conscience, & in al godlie mēs sight cleare, & undoubted, there nedeth no more discussing of the matter.

How Catholiques should enforme their consciences, for the iustice of the warres.

To conclude breifly. In these warres, & al others, that may at any time fal for Religion, against Hæretikes, or other Infidels, euerie Catholike mā is bound in conscience, to enforme himselfe, for the iustice of the cause. The which when it is doubtful, or toucheth Religiō (as is said) he ought to imploy his person, & forces, by directiō of such, as are vertuous, and intelligent in such cases; but specially by the general Pastour of our soules, being Christes vicar in earth. Whose soueraigne authoritie, & wisdome, deriued from Christ himselfe, may best instruct, and warrant à christian souldiar, howe farre, when, and where, either at home, or abrode, in ciuil, or foraine warres, made against the enimies, or Rebelles of Gods Church, he may, and must breake with his temporal soueraigne, and obey, God, and his spiritual Superiour.

A necessarie, and à sure rule.

Other commodities, of retiring to the Kings seruice.

Againe, (Gentlemen,) by this your retiring yourselues, from the seruice of Gods, and the churches, enimies, you haue not only prouided wel, for your consciences, honour, & saluation: but also for the encrease of your knowledge, and experience in art militare, and of the exact order, & discipline to be obserued in the same, being nowe to serue, under so vertuous, valerous, fortunate, famous, and victorious à General, as hath had fewe peers, in these latter ages. And in companie of so many valiant, and expert Capitaines, and souldiars, of diuerse Nations, as no where in Europe, better can be founde. Which your selues, (my maisters,) may more easely consider, by comparing your late General, my Lord of Lecester, his vertues, & famous factes (scilicet) unto the glorious exploytes, & victories, atchiued by the Duke of Parma his Highnesse. Or the disorder of the English irreligious, and licentious companies, to the religious discipline, of the Catholike campe. Between which, I doubt not, but you finde à meruelous difference, and shal do dayly, more and more, to your infinite contentment. Would to God, by your honorable example, al others our de-

The noble Duke of Parma.

A necessarie consideration.

ceiued countriemen, would begin to thinck earnestly, howe to discharge them selues of that dangerous, & infamous seruice of Hæretikes, and Rebelles, and render them selues, into this most iust, and godlie course, that you are happely entred into. Which they should the rather speedely resolue upon, for that they can not be so ignorant, of the times lately past, or the present dayes, but they must nedes haue marked, how God him selfe, fighteth for the iust causes, of his Catholike Maiestie, and generally for al Catholike Armies, against Hæretikes, and Rebelles. Wise men haue noted, that though God for our sinnes hath suffered, and stil doth permit Hæretikes, to keep great broiles, in al partes (almost) of the world, for à time: yeat he euer hath put them, in fine, to confusion: geuing the victorie, lightly in al battailes, and encounters, to the Catholikes. And that oftentimes very miraculously, defeating, (as in the warres of the Machabees, & els where in old time,) great numbers, with à very fewe, & for one Catholike, à thousand Hæretikes slaine: and many glorious victories obtained without any bloudshed, For Luther, & Zwinglius his time, I referre you, to the recordes of Germanie, and Swizerland, which set downe the ouerthrowes of Hæretikes, in the filde. The fightes in Fraunce, where the Catholikes, euer haue had also the victorie, be in al our memories meruelous. But of al others those of Flanders are most memorable. Where, besides the conflictes at Grunning, Mock, Mounts, Rosandal, Zeriksea, Northorne, Amerone, Antwarpe, Luart, Gemblowe, (1) and the like, in euery of

God geueth the victorie euer to Catholikes.

Diuers unbloudy victories, geuē to the King Catholike, in these warres.

(1) The French translator of this tract cuts down the recital of victories to four, viz: Groningen, Mons, Jemblours, and Antwerp. Beyond the first success mentioned, we do not perceive the principle of selection. Groningen, and the treachery of Renneberg 1580, is a precedent for Deventer: but Mooehs 1574, Mons 1572, Northorne 1581, Antwerp 1584-5, Jemblours 1578, Zirickzee 1575, might be largely added to, and also as extensive a list of the States' victories supplied. Luart, [Leuwarde?] Amerone, [Amerongen?] and Rosendal, are passages of arms unknown to us under those names. The history of the eighty years' Dutch war of Independence has been often written, and of the land operations enough perhaps has been said; though Maurice, and Vere, Parma, and Spinola, are the mighty actors, still it was by sea that the victory was really won; and the Spinolas were right, — it was by sea the

which, (the Lord God of Hosts mercifully fighting for his owne cause, & the Catholike Kinges right,) verie few Catholikes, without any losse of men, in mañer, slewe and defeated manie thousandes, of wel appointed souldiars: the same most iust God of reuenge, hath notoriously put to rebuke & confusion, al such forrein Princes, and people, as came to ayde his enimies. And sometimes, by his iust iudgement, hath brought them to ruine, euen by those same Hæretikes, & Rebelles, that called for them, and for whose protection, they came into that countrie. As we haue seen both in the case of the Almaine, & French succourses. And the like luck seemeth to approch unto our English forces: except our Lord, (which I hartely pray for,) cal them from that uniust, and infamous seruice of Hæretikes. Who having the perpetual curse of Christ, & his holie Church lying heauely upon them, can no more escape speedy destruction, then others, who unluckily haue folowed that side, haue done before them. Which I speake of charitie, loue, & compassion of my deare countriemen: being assured, that if they perish in bodie, (as it is to be feared, they shal do in that seruice,) they shal lose their soules also everlastingly: and shal æternally curse those, that ledde them out of their countrie, to so certayne perdition. Let not the memorie of the old English notorious battailes, and victories, which in old time were cōparable to what prouinces, or peoples were most famous: nor the esteeme, either true, or partial, of their present streingth, & courage in England, make them obstinate, in so dangerous and doubtful state of thinges. Let them not flatter them selues, nor be abused by others: it goeth not wholy, nor principally, nor oftentimes at al, by the streingth, or might of mannes arme, if they were as they pretend: but God striketh the stroke, and geueth the victorie, according to his Diuine disposition, to the worthie, & to such, as serue him, put their trust in him, & confesse with the Prophet: That, *Nec in gladio suo possederūt terrā: & brachiū eorū nō sal-*

God hath destroyed al the Hæretikes partakers miraculously.

A necessarie admonition to our coūtriemen.

Psalm. 43.

revolted provinces could alone be recovered. William de la Marck, and his associates, deserve a higher place in history than they have hitherto obtained. They won the sea, and cast off the yoke of Spain.

uauit eos: sed dextera tua, & brachiū tuū. Neither in their owne sworde haue they possessed the Land; & their owne arme hath not saued them: but thy right hād, (ô God) *& thy arme.*

1. Reg. 25.

By what meanes our Princes became of old so victorious.

When our Princes did *Præliari prælia Domini, Fight the fightes of our Lord,* (as holie writte saith of Dauid, being in armes against King Saul then deprived,) and their subiects, & souldiars serued, & feared God, reuerenced his Priests, had their confessours with them in campe, dayly heard Masse deuoutly, adored the Blessed Sacrament, called on Christ, & his holie Angels, and Sainctes, and the special Patrones of their persons, or countrie, for their defence, liued in martial discipline, order, & obedience, religiously, (according to S. John Baptistes rule, geuen to men of that condition,) abstayning from rape, and violence, towardes the innocent, cōbating only for their faith, or their countries right: thē, both amongst the Infidelles, & Heathen, & also among their Christian neighboures, their fightes were famous, their conquestes glorious, and the English armes redoubted in al places.

Luc. 3.

But nowe hauing forsaken God, & God forsakē them, when they take no quarel in hand, but for the dishonorable defence of Rebelles, Pyrates, (1) & Infidels; when their Princes are become, *Socij furū & quasi lupi rapientes prædam: Companions of theeues, and rauenous woolues:* and publike enimies of al true Kinges, and lawful Dominion: Keeping fidelitie neither with God, nor man: though they were as strong and valiant, as euer they were, & of prowder conceipt, of their owne courage, & cunning, then at this day, they pretend: yeat God wil confunde them, & such à feare wil be put into their hartes, that they shal flie, when no man persecuteth them, & à thousand shal rune away, before the face of one Catholike that fighteth for Gods Church. These things (my deare countriemē) you haue either seen with your owne eyes, or by assured faithful testimonie of others, haue heard to haue fallen,

Isaia. 1. Ezech. 22.

(1) How Essex, Roger Williams, the Veres, Ogle, Thomas Morgan, the Norrises, &c., must have been astonished at reading this! Raleigh, the glorious Grenville, Thomas Candish, Drake, or Frobisher, "the Pirates," would have puffed their tobacco in thicker clouds, and faster, if such anticipations had met their eye.

in al these warres of Flaunders, & shal dayly proue it, by your owne experiẽce, to be most true that no humane streingth, or desperation, can match God: & that it neuer fel wel with him, that opposeth him selfe to Christ, & his holie Church. To which Church, the Prophet playnly saith: *Gens et regnum, quod tibi non seruierit, perebit. The Nation & Kingdome, that serueth not thee,* Isaia. 60. *shal perish.*

Nowe in such euident, & imminẽt dãger of destruction & death, as wel of bodie as soul, to al such as folowe these new English quarels, it were bootlesse to put you in mind, of the impossibilitie of aduancement, by those warres, what so euer your successe be: your selues hauing dayly experience, of the intolerable distresses, both there & at home, & howe shamfully they which were the authors of such warres, & nowe are the chiefe leaders of the same, haue abused al sortes of our countriemen: enforcing manie à Gentleman, and substantial person, to serue of their owne charges, & to spoile themselues at home, in hope of their inriching abrode. Who nowe finding al things cõtrarie, to promise, & expectatiõ, are so entangled, that they neither dare goe home, for feare of hanging, nor can wel endure these miseries abrode, for feare of dying shamfully, & miserably in forraine countries. Nothing being leift for their reliefe, in deed, in this perplexitie, but only to do that, (if they haue grace,) which you haue both wisely, godly, & honorably done: præseruing your soules for life, & glorie euerlasting, & your persons, for the seruice of our Church, and countrie, in better times to come. In the meane while to occupie the fortitude and forces, of your bodie, & minde, (which are Gods special gifts, as S. Austin saith,) in the seruice of the Almightie: and of the greatest & iustest Monarch in the world, under à General so peerles, who can, & wil, according to the worthines of your courage, condition, and qualities, aduance you, & bestowe you in such places of seruice, where you may encrease in honour, and knowledge, and so be in time, whẽ it shal please God to haue mercie of our desolate countrie, not only restorers of old militare vertue, and discipline in the same, but be notable helpers by the valerous arme of your

No aduaũcement by English warres with the Hæretikes: but intolerable miseries.

Epist. 207.

christian Knighthoode, to reduce our people, to the obedience of Christes Church; & deliuer our Catholike freindes, & brethrē from the damnable, & untolerable yoke of Hæresie, & her most impure leaders.

It is nowe some yeares agoe, sith à Gentlman, & Capitaine, of my name, wished, &, (to say the truth,) conferred earnestly with me about it, that as we had certaine Seminaries, and Colledges for præservation, or restitution of the Cleargie, when the time should come, to serue God, in our countrie: so that there were some compainies of English souldiars also, to be trayned up in Catholike, and old godly militare discipline, for the helpe of our said countrie, in that kind likewise. Which thing being honorably begune, by diuers Noblemen and Gentlemen before: so I trust, God hath brought to passe in you nowe, that it shal be finished, to the uniuersal comfort of us al, and the great good, and hope of our Nation. For redressing the euils wherof, it is as lawful, godly, & glorious for you to fight, as for us Priestes to suffer, and to die. Either the one way, or thother, for defence of our fathers faith, is alwais in the sight of God, à most precious death, and martyrdome. And great comfort (truly) it is to me, and hope to our poore coūtrie, that in this our desolation, our merciful Lord hath leift us seed in both sortes: and that I may truly say to you, the wordes of S. Augustin, to Coūtie Boniface: *Alij pro vobis orando pugnant, cōtra inuisibiles inimicos: vos pro eis pugnatis, cōtra visibiles Barbaros.* God (saith he) geueth his giftes diuersely: *Others by praiers fight for you, against your invisible enimies: and you fight for them against visible Hæretikes, or* (as he speaketh) against *the Barbarous.* So goodly à thing it is, for the Priest & souldiar to concurre, in the seruice of God, and their countrie togeather.

A Nourcerie of Catholike souldiars.

What merite it is to fight for the faith.

Epist. 207.

The Priest and souldiar should concurre.

But I forget myselfe, and am alreadie past the measure of a letter. Therfore I wil here make an end: and for the rest referre you to the good Priests, to whom I haue geuen order in al things. And you shal finde them such, as for zeale, discretion, learning, and vertue, shal be agreable to your desire, and expectation. Whose holie laboures, and al your honorable endevours, I beseke

[sic] Almightie God to blesse. Commẽding unto you for à farewel, this goodlie sentence of the foresaid holie Doctor S. Augustin, worthie to be written in golden letters, on euerie noble souldiars breast: *Hoc primum cogita, quando armaris ad pugnam, quia virtus tua etiam corporalis, donum Dei est; sic enim cogitabis, de dono Dei non facere contra Deum.* that is, *Whensoeuer thou art armed, & in readinesse for battayle, let this be thy first cogitation, that thy very corporal streingth itselfe, is the gift of God: whereby thou shalt stil be put in minde, neuer to use the gift of God, against God him selfe, that gaue it thee.* Fare you wel againe. And to commaund me in these matters, that pertaine to my profession, make no courtesie. For I am wholy yours, and al theirs, that serue the Catholike cause, & our countrie. At Rome the 23. of April, 1587. Ubi supra.

Your freind and seruant in Christ:

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Vidit & approbaiut Siluester Pardo, S. Theol. Licenciatus & Cathedr. Ecclesiæ Antuerp. Can. librorumq́; Censor.

APPENDIX.

DR. ALLEN AND EGREMONT RATCLIFFE.

Egremont Ratcliffe, the half-brother of the Earl of Sussex, taking part in the rising of the North, expatriated himself 1569. He remained abroad until 1576, when, after repeated applications for pardon, and not receiving his pension very punctually from Philip, Egremont threw himself on the Queen's mercy, and arriving in London, was committed to the Tower. The imprisonment seems to have been intolerable to his "turbulent spirit,' and his intreaties to be released were of the most urgent kind. On one of the walls of his prison he has left carved "Egremond Radclyff, 1576, pour parvenir." (*Archæologia*, xiii. 94.) On the 20th of April, 1577, he addressed a letter to Lord Burleigh, (Strype's *Annals*, ii. 495,) in which he promises, if that Minister would obtain his release, he "would always find him undoubtedly so grateful, as the expence of his poor life, in any service it should ever please his Honour to command him in, might enable him." The Queen, as appears by another letter, (*Ibid.* p. 496,) 6th May, 1577, granted his being set at liberty, but on condition of quitting England. This second epistle, whilst it proves "that it was not Her Highness pleasure ever to employ him in her service, or to grant him her pardon," also shows that freedom to Ratcliffe, with banishment, was a most severe punishment — that he had no inclination to Philip's service. He however went abroad; and it is charged upon him, that though the Queen imposed no such duty as the price of his freedom, as he had offered to undertake, yet that Walsingham stipulated he should assassinate Don John; and Fitzherbert adds, and Allen. This is a negotiation beyond, or beside, the one into which the letters give us an insight, and must have been the consideration for being allowed hereafter to return to England. Elizabeth was no promoter of assassinations: once only, and under circumstances of the greatest irritation, we find her applying to the sour puritan Amyas Paulet, to rid her of

Mary Queen of Scots. The request was infamous, and the person to whom it was addressed, made it ridiculous; and Elizabeth was saved from the commission of the crime. The offers made her, to murder Westmoreland, "my arch rebel," "that wicked traitor," she nobly rejected. (*Letters of Elizabeth, and James the Sixth*, Camden Society, p. 81.) Burleigh was no doubt a cruel person; or why examine people by torture, and send them to be embowelled? why trick out the bridge, and gates of London, in ghastly imitation of a butcher's shambles? But it is Walsingham that is particularly charged with employing Egremont Ratcliffe, and, after the manner in which the Secretary dealt with Babington, there is no improbability in that, or any other like action that may be imputed to him. Perhaps the passage from Fitzherbert will best inform the reader of the first steps taken by Ratcliffe, when, probably about the end of 1577, he arrived on the Continent:

In aliud deinceps discrimen vitæ Alanus incidit. Nam consuetudo ejus cum Joanne Austriaco Belgii Prorege arctior, et communicatio per literas paulò frequentior, gravem, ac vehementem, suspicionem, in Anglorum animis commovebat. Cujus suspicionis timor ut aliqua amoveretur ratione, omni enitendum ratione putabant. Amoveri autem non posse certius aut prudentiùs, quam si via iniretur, qua unus, et alter, è vita tolleretur: nisi enim his sublatis, nunquam se in tuto, nunquam sine metu futuros. Summæ difficultatis hoc consilium esse; attamen tentanda omnia publicæ securitatis gratia. Imo vero rem rectè considerantibus oblatam nūc quasi divinitùs occasionem, quæ non erat negligenda. Habere namque se in carcerem conditum Egremundum Raclefum, militem non malum, strenuum profecto ac manu promptum; neque capitis modò reum, sed supplicio jam addictum; tentaturum hunc quodcunque facinus, modo impunitus ei, et præmii spes, ostendatur. Si ex sententia res et perinde, ut cupiunt, succedat, se extra periculum, et extra curam fore: sin minùs, noxam illam omnem Raclefi solius periculo castigatum iri. Neque fuit Raclefus tardus ad arripiendam conditionem, et omnia promittenda: non tam sperata mercede, quàm libertate ac salute non expectata lætus. Nec certè ratio constat, qua ille motus, manus ab Alano tunc abstinuerit, cùm ad Austriacum tendens eum visitandi gratia Rhemis adijsset. In Alano vero ea fuit firmitas animi et constantia, ut licet haberet plurimorum literis consilia Raclefi, et quæ acta cum illo erant, notissima; adeuntem tamen ad se non modò non repulerit, sed in longum ac secretum admissum colloquium, benigné et amice objurgatum dimiserit.

In the conjectural part of this account, having Ratcliffe's letters before us, we know Fitzherbert was mistaken in stating that the English government regarded the holding such a prisoner as a divinely ordered opportunity to make away with Don John, and Allen; there is no evidence that Egremond was appointed unto death, he only speaks of the torment of imprisonment; and though in Don John's purposes of marrying Queen Mary, and his consequent alliance with Elizabeth's enemies, there was much that served to renew the angry feelings between England, and Spain, which had almost slept since Alva's days, yet in assigning such importance to Allen, we think, events are rather anticipated. We repeat, the purpose of assassination, if it came from Walsingham at all, must have been a "bye," a thing apart from the conditions on which the prisoner was freed — an after-thought of the scheming Secretary. There is yet in the whole matter much room for conjecture. Why did Ratcliffe leave the Netherlands 1575, and live at Calais? and whence his utter repugnance to returning to the Spanish dominions? and wherefore did he conquer it, and set out again in 1578 for Don John's viceroyalty?

We cannot however refuse entire credence to that portion of Fitzherbert's testimony, in which, no doubt having heard it from Allen, the fact is stated, that Ratcliffe, with the purpose of assassination, appeared at Rheims, and that the object of his attack received him with kindness, remonstrated with him on his intention, and sent him away.

But the next scene in the drama is hardly reconcilable to this Porsenna-like magnanimity, for Ratcliffe, and Grey, "who were, as the world knoweth, both gentlemen of noble houses, and most faithfully affected both in religion, and service to the Spanish King; nevertheless, I know not upon what suspicion, that they should have practised the death of Don John, they were both apprehended, and though there never was, nor ever could bee anie thing proved against them, and they at their deathes protested themselves to be most innocent of that wherwith they were charged, yet theyr heads were stricken off in the market place of Namures. I touch these things the more sparingly, because they happened before my time of being there, and in matters delivered by heresaie I might erre, which (undertaking to write nothing but that which is true, and unrefutable,) I would be loth to doo, and therefore I will come to things of later time, and such as I doo certainly know." (Scarlet's *Estate of English Fugitives*, Sadler's *Papers*, Appendix, ii. 487.) We will add the account of the truthful Camden on this subject: "Sub id tempus, Egremondius Ratcliffus filius Henrici

Comitis Sussexiæ ex uxore secunda, vir turbido ingenio, et in rebellione septentrionali inter primarios, qui sub Austriaco meruit, à profugis Anglis accusatus quasi percussor ad Austriacum tollendum submissus; in castris ad Namurcum cum Greio Anglo, ut consilii non ignaro, capitur, et ambo morte afficiuntur. Produnt Hispani Ratcliffum supremis verbis sponte confessum se ex arce Londinensi liberatum, magnisque Walsinghami promissis ab hoc patrandum excitatum fuisse. Angli qui aderant confessum fuisse negant, etsi profugi ut hujusmodi confessionem extorquerent, nihil non fecerunt. Sed dissidentes in religione animi, et probitatis, et veritatis lumini nimio plus utrinque officiunt, et profugos ex odio, et obtrectandi studio, multa comminisci quis ignorat?" The possibility of the refugees misstating the circumstances of Ratcliffe's death, is no doubt as Camden's moral gives it, and we incline to think he made no confession; still, even without Allen's overpowering testimony, we had come to the conclusion that Ratcliffe's mission in Belgium was to murder Don John; and so Dugdale says, but only gives Camden as his authority. (*Baronage*, ii. 286.) The offer in the first letter directly points to such a project as the Spaniards executed Ratcliffe for entertaining.

Of Egremont Ratcliffe's fortunes during the rising of the North, the following references will inform the reader: Sadler's *Papers*, ii. 311, note; pp. 313, 371, 387; and of his entertainment by Spain, 1572, which seems to have been a lavish one, Murdin, p. 242.

The End.

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